













THE  
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XVIII.

JULY—DECEMBER 1852.

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*"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.*

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- Page 301, Line 8, for "*foot*" read "*fort.*"
- " 322, " 3, for "*Dewan*" read "*Dewant.*"
- " 327, " 12, for "*assent*" read "*ascent.*"
- " 330, " 40, for "*with*" read "*worth.*"
- " 332, " 23, for "*constitution*" read "*institution.*"



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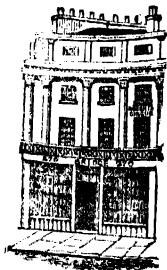
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R. HIS LATE MAJESTY,  
OF KENT AND  
of the Treasury.

The following are a few of the 500,000 cases of cure obtained by using Grimstone's Eye Snuff. Hundreds of thousands have left off their glasses in consequence of taking this celebrated Snuff. Remember, the sense of smell is the most acute sense!! as it influences your brain, your taste, your stomach, the whole of which this Snuff acts upon as a refresher, and thereby strengthens those delicate organs of the head, removing polypus therefrom, with all aches and pains.

**A few Cases of Sight Restored.**

*J. B. Lachfield, Esq.*, cured of Ophthalmia, Whitehall and Thatched House Tavern; witness to the cure, *G. J. Girsken, F. R. S.*, Ophthalmic Hospital.

*George Smith, Esq.*, 6, York-place, Kentish-town, Weakness and Dimness of Sight, cured by its use.

*Elizabeth Robson*, 19, Bell-street, Edgeware-road, cured of Ophthalmia and Deafness.

*W. Hicknell*, Penryn Arms, Baginbun, sight restored, was blind for six years.

Read the thousands of Testimonials, published in Pamphlets round each White Stone Canister of 9½, 1-6, 2-7, 9 and 17-6 the 2lbs.

LONDON, 25, KEPPEL STREET;  
Russell Square, 24th July, 1852.

I hereby certify, that the Eye Snuff invented and manufactured by Mr. William Grimstone of the Herbarry, Highgate, is quite free from Tobacco and composed of Herbs capable of exciting mildly the pituitary Glands, without exercising any subsequent narcotic action on the Optical Organs. This Snuff is therefore adapted to relieve congestions affecting the Brain and Vision.—

ANDREW URE, M. D. and F. R. S., &c., Professor and Analytical Chemist.

The above is the result of Analysis of Grimstone's Eye Snuff required by the Consul of Spain, the Marquis of Bayamo, for revenue purposes. Sold wholesale and retail, 52, High St., New Oxford Street, London.

**GRIMSTONE'S AROMATIC REGENERATOR.**

An Essential Spirit, certain to produce a New Growth of Hair upon Bald Places. Read his Pamphlet, 74th edition, every bottle of 4-0, 7-0, 11-0, inclosed in this Pamphlet, full of Testimonials from all classes of Society in proof of this valuable Discovery. It is a delicious refreshing Perfume.

**GRIMSTONE'S LONG-LIFE PILL**

Is prepared from Roots, Herbs, and extract of the Arbutus Tree, which acts on the Bile, purifying the Blood, rendering it so pellucid, that the functions of life are rendered more happy and agreeable, as it strengthens the infirm, and makes him vigorous as a man of 21 years; by taking only one every evening, for six days, will strengthen the Digestive organs, relieving the system of all impurities. Indeed, it is a Catholicon for the human constitution.

Sold in Boxes, with particulars, &c., at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d.; family Boxes, 10s. and 20s. each, Government Stamp included. The whole of the medicines can be had of every Chemist in the United Kingdom. Depot, 52, High Street, Bloomsbury.

At which establishment his

**CELEBRATED HERB TOBACCO.**

The smoke of which equals any Oriental Patch, sold in Tinfoil Packages, 1-1½, 2-9, and 4-6 each; it is prepared from Herbs grown at his Herbarry, High-gate, London.

Agents for Calcutta, Messrs. Wilson and Son.—Bombay, Frith and Co.—and Hannan, Rio, Messrs. Barbinson and Son.—Madras, Messrs. Barrie.

**CHEAP, LIGHT, AND DURABLE ROOFING.**

CROGGON'S PATENT ASPHALTE ROOFING FELT has been extensively used and pronounced efficient, and particularly applicable for WARM CLIMATES.

1st. It is a non-conductor.

2nd. It is portable, being packed in rolls and not liable to damage in carriage.

3rd. It effects a saving of half the timber usually required.

4th. It can be easily applied by any unpractised person.

5th. From its lightness, weighing only about 42lbs. to the square of 100 feet, the cost of carriage is small, therefore peculiarly adapted for interior of India.

INODOROUS FELT, for damp walls and for damp floors, under carpets, and floor cloths.

Price—ONE PENNY PER SQUARE FOOT.

CROGGON and Co.'s PATENT FELTED SHEATHING for covering Ships' Bottoms, &c., and DRY HAIR FELT, for covering Steam Boilers, Pipes, &c., preventing the radiation of Heat and saving 25 per cent. of fuel.

Samples, testimonials, and full instructions, on application to CROGGON AND Co., 2, Dowgate-hill, London.

## INDIA RUBBER FOR THE TROPICS.

Edmiston's Pocket Siphonia or Waterproof Over-coat (weight, ten ounce). Sole manufacturer of the celebrated, **POCKET SIPHONIA**, remarkable for the lightness and softness of texture, adapted for Sportsmen, Travellers and Tourists, easily folded to carry in the pocket or on saddle. The most important feature in this Waterproof is being mineralized, which effectually resists the powerful heat of the sun, and the most violent rains also, obviating the stickiness and unpleasant smell peculiar to all other Waterproofs. Price according to size. India Cloth, 40s. to 55s.; all silk throughout, 50s. to 85s. Measurement: length of Coat and size round the chest over the Coat.

"No Officer on duty or march should be without them."—*Naval and Military Gazette*.

"Waterproof, lightest and most effectual is the Siphonia. Can be carried in the hat or pocket."—*Bell's Life*, April 20, 1851.

Notice, name and address stamped inside. None others are genuine.

Leggings or Overalls.  
Ladies' Capes, with Hoods.  
Ladies' Pulelots.  
Yacht Jackets.  
Driving Capes.  
Ladies' Petticoats.  
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Fishing and Shooting Hats or Caps.  
Air Cushions.  
Pillows and Beds.  
Water ditto.  
Fishing and Shooting Boots.  
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Driving Gloves.  
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Gloshes.  
Finger Stalls.  
Tobacco Pouches.  
Chest Expanders.  
Door Springs.  
Chest Protectors.  
Cricket and other Balls of Gutta Percha and India-rubber.  
Nursing Aprons.  
Bellows for Air Beds.  
Crib Sheets.  
India-rubber Portable Folding Baths.  
Life Belts.

The Newly-invented Swimming Gloves, of great propelling power.  
Elastic Bandages.  
Sheet Rubber for manufacturing and engineering purposes.  
Elastic Bands of all sizes.  
Children's Gum Rings.  
Drinking Cups and Water Bottles.  
Arm Gussets.  
Piping and Tubing of every description.  
Portable Life Boats.  
Bows with India-rubber springs.

EDMISTON AND SON, 416 and 69, Strand, London, near the Adelphi. Orders to be accompanied by a remittance or reference for payment in London.

## KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.

UPWARDS OF FORTY YEARS' experience has fully confirmed the superior reputation of these Lozenges, in the cure of Asthma, Winter Cough, Hoarseness, Shortness of Breath, and other Pulmonary Maladies.

They have deservedly obtained the high patronage of their Majesties the KING OF PRUSSIA, and the KING OF HANOVER; very many also of the NOBILITY and CLERGY, and of the Public generally, use them, *under the recommendation of some of the most eminent of the Faculty.*

They have immediate influence over the following cases:—*Asthmatic and Consumptive Complaints, Coughs, Shortness of Breath, Hoarseness, &c., &c.*

Prepared and sold in Boxes, and Tins of various sizes, by THOMAS KEATING, Chemist, &c., No. 79, St. Paul's Church Yard, London.

Sold retail by all Druggists and Patent Medicine Venders in the World.

N. B.—To prevent spurious imitations, please to observe that the words "KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES" are engraved on the GOVERNMENT STAMP of each box.

## Important Testimonial.

### CURE OF ASTHMA OF SEVERAL YEARS' STANDING.

Cainscross, near Stroud, Gloucestershire, March 20, 1850.

SIR,—Having been troubled with Asthma for several years, I could find no relief from any medicine whatever, until I was induced, about two years ago, to try a box of your Lozenges, and found such relief from them, that I am determined for the future never to be without a box of them in the house, and will do all in my power to recommend them to my friends.

If you consider the above Testimonial of any advantage, you are quite at liberty to make what use of it you please.

I am, Sir, your most obliged Servant,  
W. J. TRIGG.

THOMAS KEATING, ESQ.,  
29, St. Paul's Church Yard.

**MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE ASSOCIATION.****HEAD OFFICES :***London : Lincoln's Inn Fields' Chambers, and 2, Portsmouth Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.***BRANCH OFFICES :—***Liverpool, Bristol, York, Manchester, Aberdeen, and Dublin.***CONFIDENTIAL REFEREE :—***D. Sheriff, Esq.**R. Warwick, Esq.*

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE ASSOCIATION, conducted on the system as so successfully adopted on the Continent, and which has met with such unprecedented success since its establishment in England.

Legally established as a medium for the introduction of both sexes unknown to each other, who are desirous of entering into matrimony. None but respectable parties can be negotiated with. Applicants may sign by initial or otherwise.

Full particulars, with printed forms of application, list of agents, and instructions, sent free on receipt of six postage stamps, and to India on receipt of thirty postage stamps by

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Inventor of the Argillostone Artificial Teeth, respectfully requests the Nobility and Gentry to notice the merits of his invention,\* which consists in the Sockets or Gums, as also the Back or Grinding Teeth, being of an indestructible mineral, composed to resemble the Gums or Teeth, which is unchangeable. They cannot break, corrode, or wear down by mastication, like those made of the tusk of the hippopotamus, or other substances ; offering immediately relief to those who suffer from indigestion caused by imperfect mastication.

A descriptive Pamphlet sent free by post.

\* Mr. McKenzie's Pamphlet on the System of Regulating the Teeth of Children to be had of all Booksellers. Second Edition, Price 1s. Published by Baisler, 124, Oxford-street, London, and Mr. Lepage, Bookseller, Calcutta. The Calcutta Agents for Mr. M.'s. celebrated instantaneous cure for tooth-ache are Messrs. Bathgate and Co., and R. Scott Thompson and Co.

**SANDERS, CONES AND CO.***PRINTERS, &c.***No. 14, LOLL BAZAR.**

The following Publications are issued from their Establishment :—

The CHRISTIAN INTELLIGENCER.....	Monthly.
The CALCUTTA REVIEW.....	Quarterly.
The INDIA SPORTING REVIEW.....	Ditto.
The CALCUTTA ALMANAC and BOOK OF DIRECTION.....	Yearly.
The SHEET ALMANAC.....	Ditto.
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ESTABLISHED IN 1833.

**C. LAZARUS AND CO.,****CABINET-MAKERS AND UPHOLSTERERS,**

Nos. 49 AND 55, COSSITOLLAH.

C. LAZARUS AND Co. take this opportunity of stating, that with the view of bringing GOOD FURNITURE into more general use; they have for the past Two Years made a great reduction from their former moderate prices. The success of this experiment, as evinced by the great increase of their business, has been sufficiently encouraging to induce them to persevere, and where at all practicable, to make still further deduction, and thus carry out the principle of supplying the best description of articles at a small remunerating profit on the outlay.


C. L. and Co. have always on hand Cabin Furniture of all kinds, as also Camp Furniture suitable for Officers proceeding on Service. Cabins fitted up with care and attention.

By "ORIENTAL" and "INDIANA," S. Vs., they have received an assortment of Splendid BROCADELLES, DAMASKS, and TABOURETS, some of the patterns of which their letter of advice states to have been patronised by Royalty and used in the Drawing Rooms of WINDSOR CASTLE. The next and following Steamers will bring a further supply.

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From these two Eminent Makers, C. L. and Co. have imported a large assortment of Locks, which they will dispose of at very reasonable prices. The former have CHUBB'S NEW PATENT GUARD in addition to all his former improvements, to which attention is respectfully invited.

C. L. and Co. continue, as usual, the manufacture and sale of their superior FRENCH POLISHES AND VARNISHES; comprising, among others, No. 1, French Polish, for light wood; No. 2, French Polish, for general work; Brown Hard Spirit Varnish, made on an improved principle, and will be found a cheap and useful Varnish to Residents in the Mofussil, as it dries rapidly and is easily applied; White Hard Varnish; Crystal ditto; Copal ditto; together with a variety of new Polishes and Varnishes, particulars of which, may be learnt on application at the Manufactory. Directions for use accompany each Bottle.

 SHOW ROOMS, Nos. 49 and 55, Cossitollah — MANUFACTORY, No. 55, Cossitollah.

### **CALCUTTA FURNITURE COMMISSION ROOMS,**

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C. LAZARUS AND Co. beg to intimate, that they have always for Commission Sale, a large assortment of Household Furniture, suitable for the Drawing Room, Dining or Bed Room, of various qualities and prices, some of which is nearly new.

Buyers will find their advantage in favouring C. L. and Co. with a call, as they will be enabled to supply themselves, without the trouble and loss of time occupied in attending Public Sales, and further without having to incur the risk and consequent loss of having to pay a high price for a Bazar-made article, under the impression that it is of European Manufacture, which daily occurs at Auction Sales.

As C. L. and Co. have always a constant demand for good Second-hand Furniture, parties having such to dispose of will obtain a ready Sale, and will find that as much care is taken of the same prior to its disposal as in a Private Dwelling House.

# LANDOUR ACADEMY,

ESTABLISHED, 1845,

Conducted by, **Mr. J. R. Lewin.**

The buildings of the Academy are situated on a spur of the Landour hill, at an elevation of 7,007 feet above the level of the Sea, protected by a higher ridge, and open to the Dhoon breeze. The situation is central, and experience has shown it to be the most healthy in these Sanatoria. The students have an extensive playground, where English games alone are permitted. Walks into the country and gardens are encouraged. Care is taken that, when not in Class, the Students should always be under the eye of a Master, who also attends to gymnastics and military exercise.

The accommodation for the pupils consists of large and well-ventilated Dormitories, School-room, Dining-room, Washing and Wardrobe-rooms. The kitchen department is under exclusive management, and great care and attention are bestowed in its superintendence.

The system is based upon good and well-tried principles, and a trial of seven years has shown its excellence. Particular attention is equally given to the moral, physical and mental education of the pupils, and the three conducted so that all should work towards one beneficial end. A perfect discipline, strictness with regard to faults, the encouragement of emulation, monitorial system, and the preservation of a good feeling between the Students and Masters, entering as elements in the system, have been found to be productive of good to an eminent degree.

The method of teaching has been found to be very successful, and each Teacher is obliged to conduct his Class on principles common to the Academy, and thus a perfect uniformity is preserved. The Classes are divided into Junior and Senior, and six Forms—the first being the lowest. The Junior Class contains a preparatory Form, and the first, second and third Forms; the Senior class, the fourth, fifth and sixth Forms.

The studies, which belong generally to each, are shown in the following Synopsis:—

## Junior Class.

**PREPARATORY FORM.**—Reading and Spelling, *vivâ voce* instruction in objects which generally attract a child's attention, Geography and Figures, with the assistance of the Black-board, Watts' Catechisms, and Divine Songs.

**FIRST FORM.**—Anecdotal Reading, with Spelling and Pronunciation, Outlines of Geography and Grammar, Arithmetic, Sacred History (learned Catechetically, and Writing).

**SECOND FORM.**—English Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Outlines of General History, Introduction to the sciences, Bible, Use of the Blacklead Pencil and Writing.

**THIRD FORM.**—Recitation, English Syntax and Narrative Composition, Geography, History of the British Empire, Natural Philosophy, Practical Geometry, Bible, Latin Grammar with Delectus, Oordoo, Drawing and Writing.

## Senior Class.

**FOURTH FORM.**—English Composition, Use of the Globes, History of India, Natural Philosophy, Plane Geometry, Book-Keeping, Algebra, Biblical Exercises. Latin—Casar, Oordoo, Drawing and Planning.

**FIFTH FORM.**—Original Composition and Etymology, Physical Geography, Biblical Exercises, Grecian History, Plane Geometry, Algebra, Plane Trigonometry, Natural Philosophy. Latin—Sallust and Virgil, Greek Grammar, with New Testament, Oordoo, Drawing and Surveying.

**SIXTH FORM.**—Logic, Political Economy, Biblical Exercises, Roman History, Solid Geometry, Algebra, Spherical Trigonometry, Natural Philosophy, Latin—Cicero's Orations, Greek—Xenophon, Surveying, and Mapping, Drawing, and Persian.

A short Examination of the above table will show that, although many studies are allotted to each Class, some of them are calculated merely to keep up the knowledge, which has already been acquired, and require little mental exercise; others may be considered as recreations; and that a few only require actual study.



These are taken up progressively ; and by their Judicious division over the days of the week, the mental powers are neither overladen nor distracted by too great a variety.

On the last Friday of every month, examinations are held in the studies of that month, and the results preserved to aid in deciding the prizes at the Annual Examination. The Monthly Examinations or *probation days* are open to those who have an interest in the Academy. An Annual Examination, open to the public, generally, held during the first week in October, and prizes awarded to the best deserving.

The following table will give a further insight into the general economy of the School :—

### Disposal of Time.

E. M.	P. M.
5 to 5½ Private Prayers and Dress.	12 to 1 Recreation.
5½ to 6 Exercise.	1 to 3 Class Study.
6 to 7 Recreation.	3 to 4 Dinner.
7 to 8 Ditto and study without a Master.	4 to 5½ Vernacular Class.
8 to 9 Morning Prayers and Breakfast.	5½ to 7 Evening walk, &c.
9 to 12 Class Study.	7 to 7½ Supper.
	7½ to 9 Evening Study, under the superintendence of a Master.
	9 Evening Prayers, and retire to dormitories.

A change is made in the earliest hours in the morning, and last in the evening, during the winter and summer.

The pupils join the family at morning and evening prayers, and also take their meals with it.

The holidays are, a week at Easter, a week after the General Examination, and six weeks at Christmas.

In order to make the Academy more extensively useful, a reduction in the charges has been made for those who observed the following conditions ; monthly payments, regular attendance, and the attendance to extend over the whole year, excepting the holidays. It does not necessarily follow that pupils *must* leave during the holidays. Those who do not observe these conditions, are liable to the old charges of Rs. 35 and 40 respectively.

### Terms per mensem :

For Boarders in the Junior Class, and under 12 years of age ...	Rs. 30	each.
„ Boarders in the Senior Class, and above 12 years of age....	35	„
„ Day-Boarders, .....	20	„
„ Day-Scholars, .....	10	„

More than *two* from the same family will be charged at the lower rate.

The old rates will be charged unless it be directly intimated that the conditions upon which the lower rates depend will be observed.

Drawing and Persian are extra charges for day-boys, who are also supplied with Class Books from the Library, at cost price.

For boarders there are no extras, excepting a fee of one Gold-Mohur each annually, for the Medical Officer attending the Academy.

No broken periods are allowed—Students joining the Academy before the 15th are charged for the whole month, those after that day for the half month.

One month's notice is required previous to the removal of a pupil, otherwise an amount, equivalent to a month's charge, is expected to be paid.

No account will be allowed to remain unpaid after the quarter has been completed.

On application references will be given, which cannot fail to satisfy enquirers of the efficiency and good management of the Academy.

The above is not intended to be a complete exposition of the system pursued at the Landour Academy, but to exhibit it's main features in practice.

All communications to be addressed to Mr. J. R. Lewin, Academy, Landour. N. B.—The Academy has pupils from all parts of Northern India. The facilities of travelling in India, being so greatly improved, a tried Institution on an European climate is now available to Parents and Guardians of youths in all parts of India.

# Medical, Invalid AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

ESTABLISHED, 1841.

**CAPITAL, £500,000.**

HEAD OFFICES, 25 Pall Mall, London,

*With Branches throughout the United Kingdom and in some of the principal Towns  
in the Continent of Europe,*

FOR GRANTING ASSURANCES ON LIVES, ENDOWMENTS, AND ANNUITIES.

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1, Chowringhee Road.

### Agents in Bombay.

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The Directors of the Indian Branch have the pleasure to announce, that the success which has attended the extension of the Society's operations to India, has convinced them that the Public appreciate the motives which led to the establishment of the Indian Branch of this Company.

The Directors solicit attention to the subjoined abstract of the Society's Indian Prospectus, and especially to the accompanying Table of Rates for Assurance of all the Indian Life Offices.

# Tabular

Of the Annual Premium required for the Assurance, with  
at death, in each of the Life

The MEDICAL, INVALID AND GENERAL charges no Entry Money, Policy

AGE NEXT BIRTH-DAY.	Medical, Invalid and General.		UNIVERSAL.		COLONIAL.		CHURCH OF ENG- LAND.	
	Civil.	Military and Naval.	Civil.	Military and Naval.	Civil.	Military and Naval.	Civil.	Military and Naval.
	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs. A. P.	Co.'s Rs. A. P.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.
20	29	35	42	47	40 7 4	44 8 0	34	41
21	30	36	43	48	41 0 0	45 2 0	35	42
22	31	36	43	49	41 9 4	45 12 0	36	42
23	32	37	44	49	42 4 0	46 7 4	36	43
24	32	38	44	50	42 13 4	47 2 0	37	44
25	33	38	45	51	43 8 0	47 13 4	38	45
26	33	39	46	51	44 3 4	48 10 0	39	45
27	34	39	46	52	44 15 4	49 6 8	39	46
28	34	40	47	53	45 11 4	50 4 8	40	47
29	35	41	48	54	46 8 0	51 2 8	41	48
30	36	41	48	54	47 6 0	52 1 4	42	49
31	37	42	49	55	48 4 0	53 0 8	43	49
32	39	42	50	56	49 2 0	54 0 8	44	50
33	40	43	51	57	50 0 8	55 0 8	45	51
34	42	44	52	58	51 0 8	56 0 8	46	52
35	43	44	53	58	52 0 8	56 12 8	47	53
36	44	45	54	59	53 2 0	57 10 0	48	54
37	45	46	55	60	54 3 4	58 11 4	49	55
38	47	47	56	61	55 6 0	59 14 0	50	57
39	47	47	58	62	56 8 8	61 0 8	51	58
40	48	48	59	63	57 12 8	62 0 8	53	59
41	50	50	60	64	59 2 0	63 2 0	54	60
42	51	51	62	65	60 8 0	64 8 0	55	62
43	52	52	63	66	61 15 4	65 15 4	57	63
44	53	53	65	68	63 7 4	67 7 4	58	65
45	54	54	66	69	65 0 0	68 12 0	60	66
46	55	55	67	70	66 10 0	70 2 0	62	68
47	56	56	69	72	68 6 8	71 14 8	63	70
48	56	56	70	73	70 4 0	73 12 0	65	71
49	57	57	72	75	72 2 0	75 8 8	67	73
50	59	59	74	77	74 4 0	77 8 0	69	75
51	60	60	76	79	76 7 4	79 7 4	72	77
52	62	62	79	81	78 12 8	81 12 8	74	79
53	65	65	81	83	81 4 0	84 4 0	76	82
54	66	67	84	86	83 14 8	86 14 8	79	84
55	67	70	87	89	86 10 8	89 6 8	82	87
56	69	72	89	91	89 10 0	92 2 0	85	89
57	72	74	92	94	92 12 0	95 4 0	88	92
58	73	77	96	98	96 0 8	98 8 8	91	95
59	76	79	99	101	99 9 4	102 1 4	94	98
60	80	82	103	105	103 5 4	105 13 4	98	101

EXAMPLES.—(1.) A Civilian aged 80 may assure Co.'s Rs. 50,000 for Co.'s Rs. 1,800 annually, less than it may assure Co.'s Rs. 50,000 for Co.'s Rs. 2,850 annually, while some other Offices charge Co.'s Rs. 3,850 annually

The Rates of Premium of the Medical, Invalid and General Life Office were deduced from India House extending over the period from 1760 to 1847 inclusive, and are ample

# View

## participation in profits, of 1,000 Company's Rupees, payable Assurance Offices in India.

or Medical Fees, and receives Premiums in MONTHLY Payments.

FAMILY ENDOWMENT.		NEW ORIENTAL—Premiums reduced 10 p. c. conditionally.		UNITED SERVICE.		INDIAN LAUDABLE—(Mutual Office.)		AGE NEXT BIRTH-DAY.
Civil.	Military and Naval.	Civil.	Military and Naval.	Civil.	Military and Naval.	Civil.	Military and Naval.	
Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	Co.'s Rs.	
33	38	38	45	38	45	28	45	20
34	38	39	46	39	46	39	46	21
34	39	39	46	39	46	39	46	22
35	39	40	47	40	47	40	47	23
35	40	40	48	40	48	40	47	24
35	40	40	48	40	48	40	48	25
36	41	41	49	41	49	41	49	26
36	42	42	50	42	50	42	50	27
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...	...	80	96	80	96	80	96	58
...	...	83	99	83	99	83	99	59
...	...	86	103	86	103	86	103	60

other Offices, some of which require Co.'s Rs. 2,400 annually; (2.) An Officer in the Indian Army aged 50 (3.) The latter sum would assure Co.'s Rs. 65,234 on the same life in the Medical, Invalid and General.

by Mr. Neilson, the Resident Actuary of the Company, direct from the Records of the sufficient for the risk incurred. Two-thirds of the profits returned to the Assured.

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## Security.

A Capital of Half a Million Sterling, fully subscribed by an influential body of Proprietors, in 10,000 Shares of £50 each. The Board of Directors have invested a sum in Company's Paper amply sufficient for the current exigencies of this Branch.

## Data.

Mr. Nelson, the Resident Actuary of this Company, in order to prepare a Report on the Bengal Military Fund, was, by a resolution of the Hon'ble Court, of date September 1847, permitted to examine the Records of the India House for the period from 1760 to 1847. Two years elapsed before his investigation was completed, and the result fully established the following facts:—(1) That the said Records afford the only satisfactory data whence to calculate the Premiums for Assurance of the Lives of Europeans in India. (2) That the climate of this country is by no means so fatal in its effects to Europeans as has been hitherto supposed. (3) That the rates of Premium, which have been for many years and are now charged by some Life Offices in this country, are exorbitant.

The Directors solicit the attention of the Public to the fact, that this is the only Company whose rates are deduced from the Records of the India House.

## Premiums.

These are lower than the rates of any other Company, as will at once appear from a reference to the subjoined Tabular view of the Annual Premiums for Assurance of Co.'s Rs. 1,000 at death, with profits, in each of the Life Offices in India.

## Profits

Are ascertained at regular intervals of five years, and an entire two-thirds divided amongst Policy-holders on the participating scale. The last division was announced on 30th November 1848, when a bonus was declared, by which about 2 per Cent. per annum was added to the sums assured under participating Policies. Notwithstanding the very moderate Premiums of this Company, ample additions have been made to the mathematical rates for India to cover contingencies and charges of management, and it is confidently believed that even larger profits than as above will be returned to the Assured at this Branch.

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- (1.) Policies indisputable, except on ground of fraud.
- (2.) Policies, on which five Annual Premiums have been paid, purchased at a fair value.
- (3.) Claims paid three months after satisfactory proof of death, or discounted immediately after such proof, if preferred.
- (4.) Fifteen days of grace allowed for payment of Premiums.
- (5.) The whole of the Funds of the Indian Branch invested in Government and other Indian securities.
- (6.) Two-thirds of the estimated value will be advanced on the security of Policies effected with this Society, on which, at least, five Annual Premiums have been paid.
- (7.) Policies assigned, registered at the Offices of the Society in India without charge.
- (8.) Assurances may be revived within three months of the date on which the Premium became due, on satisfactory proof of health and payment of fine.
- (9.) Immediate reduction to English rates on the Assured proceeding to Europe, or other parts of the world, which the Board may consider equally healthy, if for permanent residence, but if such residence be temporary only, the said reduction not to take effect until after one year's residence.
- (10.) Civil rates charged on the Lives of Military Officers holding Civil appointments, for the term of such appointments.
- (11.) Persons assured with this Society may proceed to and reside in any part of the world, except the Western Coast of Africa, without any increase of Premium.

## Peculiar Advantages to Residents in India.

- (1.) Lower rates than those of any other Office.
- (2.) No charge for Entry Money, Policy or Medical Fees.
- (3.) Where the proposal is for not less than Co.'s Rs. 2,500, or for a shorter period than five years, this Company pays the Medical Examiner a gold-mohur for his Report.
- (4.) Premiums may be paid yearly, half-yearly, quarterly, or monthly.
- (5.) Rates of Premium for all kinds of Assurance, Endowment and Annuity may be ascertained from the Secretary.

*Full particulars as to the Constitution, Conditions and Rates of the Company, together with Forms and Instructions to parties wishing to effect Assurances, will be forwarded free to any part of India, or obtained on personal application at the following Offices:—AGRA—"Messenger" Office; DELHI—"Gazette" Office; LAHORE—"Chronicle" Office; MEERUT—"Mofussilite" Office; SERAMPORE—"Friend of India" Office; at the SOCIETY'S SUB-BRANCHES in BOMBAY and MADRAS, and at their regular Agencies throughout India.*

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5. *The Crescent and the Cross.* By Eliot Warburton.

COUNTLESS are the books, which the press annually sends forth, written by learned and pious men, with the not unwarrantable pride of pilgrims, who have achieved the object of their lives, and who desire to communicate to others, and to rouse up in them, the deep interest which they themselves have experienced. Each year adds new facilities to the performance of what, one short half century ago, was considered a feat to be talked about. Men, who had stood on Mount Olivet, or knelt at the tomb hard by Calvary, were proud to be pointed out during their lives, and to have this fact recorded on their tombs.

It is with no intention to add other and less perfect volumes to the excellent works placed at the head of this article, that the pen is taken up by one who has just realized his heart's desire in visiting the sacred spots of the Nativity and Passion of our Saviour; it is not to enter into the dreary field of polemics as to the correctness or incorrectness of the different localities pointed out. The object is simply to bring before the readers of this Review, the "Holy Land" as it is, to point out the facilities for visiting it, to awaken an interest in those scenes, and perhaps to tempt some few of those, who hurry through Egypt, on their homeward journey, to tarry awhile, and devote two months to a pilgrimage, the memory of which will rest with the Christian to his dying hour. Many of those who are driven to seek health in the mountains of the Himalaya range, and to throw away the precious years of their lives in the dull provinces of the Cape Colony and the Mauritius, may be induced to avail themselves of the undoubted privilege to visit Judea, and seek for health in one of the numerous sanatoria of Lebanon.

There may, and must be, many, to whom distant countries represent a mere blank and void in their ideas; and the narrator

is obliged to premise a description of the peculiar features of the soil, the ancient history of the inhabitants, their laws, their destiny, and their religion; but who among us has not heard of Palestine? Whose earliest ideas of mountains and trees are not connected with the hills and goodly cedars of Lebanon? Who knows not of the hill country of Judea, to which Mary went in haste to salute Elizabeth, and the plain of Esdraelon, which has been the battle-field of nations from the time of Sisera to that of Napoleon?

It will be unnecessary to say, that it is with feelings of awe, and a kind of mistrust of the natural senses, that the traveller first places his foot on the shore of the Holy Land; that he first connects places of an historical and all but fabulous interest, with the prosaic routine of his daily movements. Is it possible that I am to rest this night at Tyre? That I shall to-morrow stand with Elijah on Mount Carmel? That with my servants and mules I shall tread the sands between Casarea and Joppa, once trod by St. Peter, and go up with St. Paul from Lydda to Jerusalem? Such must be the feelings of the scriptural pilgrim; it is good for him to be there. Nor do the fatigues of the journey, or the discomforts necessarily attending travellers in an uncivilized country, diminish aught of his enthusiasm, while he plods his way along

—those holy fields

Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,  
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed,  
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.

It is some advantage to have travelled in oriental countries previous to landing on the shores of Palestine, as there are many features of Asiatic life, which are common all over the Eastern world, but which astonish and perplex travellers on their first arrival from Europe; and in every work from the pen of such a traveller pages are devoted to a minute description, and to scriptural illustrations, of manners and features, which are not peculiar to Palestine, but are the characteristics of Asiatic life elsewhere. There is a tendency also on the part of devout and untravelled men to strain the prophecies of the Bible, to see the hand of God (unquestionably existing everywhere) in the minutest features in this country, and to arrive at very unwarrantable conclusions. A small volume, lately published by some ministers of the Scotch Church, particularly illustrates this. These excellent men had probably never left the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, until they started upon the mission entrusted to them. They saw every thing through a microscope of their own. The Arab woman drawing water at the well to them was Rebecca

when met by Eliezer; every white-bearded and turbaned old man reminded them of Abraham; they found a scriptural interest in every object which they saw, and every word which they heard; their pages teem with scriptural quotations; the very mountains to them spoke outwardly of the avenging hand of the God of Israel; the stern bare hills of Judah, the wilderness-girt shores of the Sea of Galilee, the harsh and stern look of the valley of Jehoshaphat;\* yet these outward features of Nature were the same in ancient days as now. The River of Jordan flowed down the same dreary bed into the Dead Sea, what time the walls of Jericho crumbled at the sound of the trumpet of Joshua; Jerusalem was encircled by the same hills, stood on the edge of the same natural chasms, when David danced before the Ark, when Solomon in the height of his glory received in the Queen of Sheba, and when Titus razed the temple. The face of Nature does not change. Desolation certainly shows itself conspicuously, and we see reminiscences on all sides of a time, when the inhabitants of the country were numerous, rich and flourishing; the mountains were once in Judea, as now in Lebanon, terraced with the vines and the mulberry; gardens once bloomed, where now there is nought but the ruined well; broken columns mark the site of old cities now desolate; and the shattered arch shows where once the torrent was spanned by the royal highway; but the traveller in Greece, in Asia Minor, in Mesopotamia, and all over India, knows that such are the features of all the ancient countries of Asia—ancient, since they saw the first civilization of man, who learnt to be rich, powerful, and ambitious under a tropical sun, while the countries of the West were occupied by savages, and overgrown by forests. Thus to the resident of India all the features of Syria are at once familiar: the hedges of prickly pear, the sandy ill-defined roads, the large groves of pine trees, the walled towns, the bazars, the flat-roofed houses, the tapering minarets, the peculiar natural products, the people themselves, with sandalled feet, loose garments, flowing beards, and turbans, the trains of mules, and laden camels: all these things stupefy the travellers of England, but to the Indian they excite scarcely a passing remark, and he has leisure for the uninterrupted contemplation of what is remarkable and peculiar

\* There is some truth in this statement; yet, notwithstanding, the book referred to, that by Mr. Bonar and the late Mr. McCheyue is, taken for all in all, one of the best descriptions of Palestine of the multitudes that we have read. And in point of fact, the authors of it say nothing more of the country than is said of it by every traveller; that it is in a very different state now from that in which it was in the days of its glory. The present state of Tyre is not the less a fulfilment of prophecy because Gour and Palibothra are now in ruins.—*Ed.*



to the soil: the completion of prophetic denunciations, the mighty events which have there happened, the traces of the different races and peoples which have contended for, possessed, and lost this narrow strip of land, between the Jordan and the Mediterranean; for Egyptians, Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians and Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Tartars, Turks and Christians, have all thrown away time and treasure for the possession of a country, in itself valueless, but ever destined to be the highway of nations.

Let us commence then our pilgrimage, and step by step traverse the length and breadth of the land "from Dan to Beersheba." From whichever direction you come, the most convenient point of disembarkation is Beyrout, at which place all the steamers touch. Within the last year propositions have been made for steamers to touch at Joppa, and at Caiapha, beneath Mount Carmel; and the Holy Land can be approached from Suez and Cairo by the long and short desert routes; but both entail fatigue, loss of time, and a dreary quarantine in an obscure corner of the country. The traveller landed at Beyrout, if from Egypt, has a quarantine in an excellent establishment, and finds in that large and flourishing town the means of providing himself with the materials for his journey. Beyrout can conveniently be made the starting point, and the goal of his pilgrimage, and should he have time for a sojourn in Lebanon, all the sanatoria on the mountain are within twenty miles, and overhang the town of Beyrout, the commercial capital of the country.

Let us imagine ourselves thus prepared to go up to Jerusalem—with our baggage laden upon mules—our Arab servants (including interpreter) accompanying, and ourselves bestriding the strong hacks of the country, in which wheel carriages of any description are utterly unknown. The first stage is Saïda, the ancient Sidon, and the road lies along the shore of the tideless Mediterranean; on the left rises the magnificent range of Lebanon, sparkling with villages, monasteries, and chapels, thickly sprinkled along its declivities: this is the country of the Heathen Druse, and Christian Maronite, who live blended together, resembling each other in little but their character for independence and unmanageableness. Wonderfully picturesque and enchanting is this ride, between the green mountains and the deep blue ocean, which, sweeping in on the coast, forms bays and head-lands fringed with white foam to break the sameness of the landscape. The signs of life on the road are few, the road itself is but a pathway, and the mountain streams have to be waded through, though broken arches

show where once, in better days, bridges had been ; and crossing these streams is sometimes, when the volume of the water is swollen, at the risk of life and property :—at no time is it pleasant to stem a rapid torrent just at the point where it rushes into the ocean, knowing what the consequence of one false step would be. Travellers have been known to have been delayed weeks on the banks. Sidon, when reached, presents little to admire, but much to interest ; we remember that we are now in the land promised to, though never possessed by, the twelve tribes ; that to the tribe of Asher was allotted the coast of Sidon, though, their strength being weakened by disobedience, the children of Israel never fully obtained their promised heritage.\* Hence went forth Jezebel to swell the crimes of Samaria : here were planted the first germs of commerce and navigation.

The next day's journey is to Tyre, now called Soor. The road is much the same as that of the preceding day, except that the mountain ranges becoming lower, and the coast more rugged, the River Leontes, which drains the valley of Cœle-Syria, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, is crossed by an old-fashioned bridge, which is fortunately in repair, or all communication would be cut off. On the road we pass Zarephath, the place of refuge of Elijah, where the barrel of meal and the cruise of oil did not fail, and the man of God raised the son of the widow. The houses of Tyre are seen far out in the sea, and the once famous island is now a narrow peninsula, in the midst of ruins and desolation. Here, for the first time, we come upon the steps of our Redeemer, for it is in these coasts that he miraculously healed the Syro-Phœnician woman ; here St. Paul landed on his return from one of his apostolical voyages, and knelt down on the sands, and took leave of his disciples in prayer ; here, three thousand years ago, Hiram, whose vast sarcophagus is still shown on the neighbouring height, shipped off cedars for the temple at Jerusalem ; and to the men of Tyre was Zerubbabel indebted, under the grant of Cyrus, for materials for the second temple also. There are no cedars now within one hundred miles. Here flourished idolatry in all its abomination ; against this city were uttered some of the direst threats of the prophets,

\* There seems good reason to believe, with Michaelis and others, that the original promise did not include Sidon. There is only one text which seems to indicate that it was, in which the Sidonians are mentioned among the natives whom the tribe of Asher did not drive out. But these might be the Sidonian inhabitants of Tyre. All the other texts seem to intimate that the borders of the tribe of Asher, not only as possessed by them, but as promised to them, turned off from the sea near Mount Carmel, and only returned to it at Achzib, leaving out altogether the strip of Phœnicia.—Ed.

and never does prophecy appear more literally fulfilled. Tyre is indeed laid waste, her walls and towers are destroyed and broken down, she is made like the top of a rock, and a place for spreading nets in the midst of the sea. No place was more particularly selected by the inspired writers of the Old Testament, as an object of their prophetic wrath, than this queen of cities: and none is more prostrate. Still there is an interest attached to its very name that cannot fail to attract. Recollections of all time press upon us—of Dido, in the earliest mist of traditional history, lading her vessels to fly from her brother, and to found an empire on the coast of Africa—of the purple of Tyre, famous all over the world—of Alexander. The name seems never forgotten: we find it in the early history of the church, and the romances of the crusades, and it is only when we stand amongst its ruins that we are aware how indeed it has fallen.

From Tyre the sea-coast is followed, until the last and most southern spur of Lebanon obstructs the passage, and it is only by a dangerous, but most picturesque, mountain pathway round the head-land of Cape Bianco, called the Ladder of Tyre, that entrance is actually made into the Palestine of the Israelites. Before us lie the undulating plains of Asher, correctly described in the Book of Judges as on the sea-shore; to the left is the long range of the mountains of Galilee—the prospect being terminated by the heights of Mount Carmel. We pass by the celebrated fortress city of St. Jean d'Acre, the key-stone of Syria, and destined to be three times the glory of England; thence winding round the beautiful bay, the waters of that ancient river, the River Kishon, have to be crossed, and so deep is the bed, and so rapid the current of this bridgeless stream, that the traveller has to urge his unwilling steed into the sea, describing a semi-circle round the estuary of the torrent, which swept away the host of Sisera. Thence we pass through Caiapha, ascend the side of Mount Carmel, and enter the stately Roman Catholic convent, over which the tri-color of France waves proudly. The convent stands on the brow of the rock, and commands an unequalled view of earth, air and sky: on this range Elijah vindicated the power of God over the priests of Baal, but the convent is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, who is traditionally reputed to have visited the cave of Elijah from the neighbouring Nazareth.

The road still lies due south along the sea-coast, shut in to the east by the mountainous country of Samaria, until we arrive at the deserted town of Cæsarea. Never was ruin so perfect, so solemn in its desolation, telling so distinctly its

history, as these remains of Cæsarea. What was the object of those massive fortifications, those castellated gates, that deep entrenchment? History tells us, that Cæsarea was the military capital of the province under the Roman emperors: and we find on the sea-coast a strongly entrenched military camp, looking for succours beyond the sea, and able to defy all attacks by land. When this power fell, their camp fell with them, and became a ruin without an inhabitant; but time has fallen gently on the work of the Romans; the stones are fastened by cement, as fresh as if placed there yesterday; the towers, the gateways, the trench, and the roads are as clearly defined, as they were, when Claudius Lysias despatched St. Paul by night from Jerusalem to the most excellent Governor Felix. Tradition does not point out the Judgment Hall, where Felix trembled at the apostle's reasonings; but we know that it must have been within this fortified space that St. Paul spoke of righteousness and judgment, and that here the Holy Ghost descended upon the first Gentile converts, in the house of the centurion, Cornelius.

At Cæsarea we pass round another head-land, and enter the plain of Sharon, and look up far eastward at the mountains of Judea: the sea is still on our right hand, until we take a final farewell of it at Joppa. At this place again we are met by a variety of conflicting associations. We are shown where the sheet was three times let down in the vision of St. Peter, where Jonah embarked to start for Tarshish, (the whale disgorged him between Beyrout and Sidon); hard by is the rock from which Andromeda was liberated by Perseus, and the hospital where perished the wounded soldiers under Napoleon. Joppa has always been the sea-port of Jerusalem; the cedars of Lebanon were here landed, and dragged up the intervening space of hill and valley to the foot of Mount Sion; here, in the days of the crusades, the pilgrims used to disembark; and with such natural advantages, we cannot be surprised, that it is a busy and flourishing place, and under the new aspect of the country will daily become larger and more important. From the present year there will be a regular series of steamers, and thus an immediate communication with Beyrout and Alexandria, without a fatiguing land journey; and as the majority of pilgrims come for Jerusalem, and its environs alone, Joppa will be the favourite point of debarkation.

Our seventh day is now arrived, the long line of coast between Joppa and Beyrout has been traversed, our faces are now turned eastward, and we rejoice to think, that this night our feet will rest in Jerusalem; but long and tedious is the

way, footsore is the weary pilgrim, ere he salutes the Tower of David. The eye falls upon Lydda, where Peter healed the palsied Æneas: but we look in vain for the far-famed rose, while traversing the plain of Sharoh. Passing though Arimathea, now Ramleh—the residence of that stout-hearted disciple, who alone was not ashamed to acknowledge his Master even on the cross—we enter the rugged defiles of the hills of Judah, and struggle along a bad road, passing a succession of ranges with weary limbs, and eyes straining to catch the first sight of the hallowed walls; but it is not until he is within half a mile that the anxious pilgrim first sees the long low wall of the southern face of the town, and the heights of Mount Olivet towering immediately above it.

How many a weary frame and fainting heart have stopped, and taken fresh courage at this point! How many a devout spirit has poured itself forth in song and prayer of thankfulness at having arrived thus far on the pilgrimage, the object of a life! Yes! knees, unused to kneel, have been bent at this place, tears have streamed from the eyes of hard and worldly men: toil by land, danger by sea, hunger and thirst, captivity and separation, are all forgotten, and the heart exults at the thought of drinking in the natural features of a landscape, on which fell the dying gaze of the Saviour, and achieving a pious task, the memory of which will live to the latest hour: the joy, which each man would feel at entering his home after long absence—the interest, which each man would feel at treading on the stage of the most illustrious events—the awe, which he would feel at entering the holiest of the holy—such are the sentiments of him, who stands with a right mind in thy gates, O Jerusalem! Fifty generations have passed away, and the spirit of pilgrimage is still young: the hundreds of past times are now swelling to thousands. The passage of Tasso still electrifies, telling us, how the hardy crusader reined steed, and the mail-clad warrior knelt at the sight of these time-honoured walls; but it is more affecting, more striking to see the crowds of peaceful pilgrims, to hear their joyful shout, and mark their exulting eye;—and you, modern pilgrim, whom steam has wafted hither without fatigue, with all the comforts, the luxuries of wealth, do not disdain to kneel!

But do not now enter the city: rather pause, mark well her bulwarks, count the towers thereof, like the watchmen of Solomon, go about the city, and see into how small a space it has shrunk: how its ancient greatness has perished. We are standing at the southern gate, the gate of Joppa, under the Castle of David; turning to the right we come upon Mount Sion, the mount

which the Lord chose for his own possession; part of it is enclosed within the modern walls, but the chief portion is covered with olives, vineyards, and tomb-stones. Into that building on the left no Christian can enter, but, within are the tombs of David and Solomon, deeply venerated by Mohammedans. Our path lies still to the right, hard by the burial-ground of the Christians; and surely it were a privilege to sleep the last sleep on Sion. Thence we descend upon Mount Moriah. On that mountain platform stood the temple of Solomon; there, in ages gone by, Abraham offered up Isaac; there the pestilence was stayed at the threshing-floor of Araunah; there the Most High was pleased to dwell in temples made with hands, while the cedar of Lebanon, the gold of Ophir, and the choicest things of the earth, were scattered in profusion. The old men, who had seen the first house, wept with a loud voice, when they saw the foundations of the second. The disciples heard incredulously the denunciation of their Master, that not one stone should be left on another; the Saviour himself wept, when he stood and gazed upon it from the Mount of Olives, on the opposite side of the valley of Jehoshaphat; thither for one thousand years the tribes of Israel went up, exulting in their being the chosen people, the sons of Abraham, confident in the inviolability of their temple, their city, and their nation. How would those old priests of the first temple weep now! Would those incredulous disciples believe their eye-sight now, if they beheld the abomination of desolation in the holy place, the mosque of Omar occupying the site of the temple, to mark the spot, whence Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, started upon his mysterious steed Borak, on his night visit to the Seventh Heaven! No Christian is allowed to enter the confines; the Jew, though privileged, dares not do so unpurified.

We have arrived at the south-eastern corner of the city, where the corner of the temple substructure, remarkable for the vast stones of which it is composed, overhangs the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the brook of Siloam still "flows fast by the oracle of God;" opposite to us is the mountain of offence, where Solomon built a palace for his idolatrous wives; did we continue along under the eastern face of the city, we should pass the golden gate, and find ourselves at St. Stephen's gate; but it is better to descend by the rugged path into the valley of Jehoshaphat, cross the stream of Siloam by the pillar which Absalom built in the king's dale, and which is still execrated by the Jews, climb to the heights of that mountain, which crowns the whole city, and bore in the

time of David, as it does now, a name derived from the trees, which thickly clothe it even to the top.

It is the practice of all enthusiastic travellers arriving at any place of interest, to seek an eminence in the immediate neighbourhood, whence the whole scene can be commanded, whence the temple and the palace, the works of man, are brought by distance into their proper relative proportion to the surrounding hills, the work of God. There are those, who, in the search over the world for the beautiful, have gazed upon the ruins of Athens and the Parthenon from the heights of Lycobettus, have seen an Italian sunset over the hundred spires of Rome, with the Sabine hills in the distance—who can look on Paris from Mont-Martre, on the romantic capital of Dunedin from the Calton Hill without delight, without unbounded interest: but all earthly views—the golden horn of Istamboul—the net-work tracery of Venice—the bay of Naples—yield to the interest—interest heartfelt and overpowering—the deep feelings of emotion—with which the view from Mount Olivet first seen is accompanied.

Carry your eye across that awful chasm, the valley of Jehoshaphat; and, seated majestically with a curtain of dark hills in the distance, you see all that Time, War, Human malevolence, and Divine vengeance, have allowed to survive of old Jerusalem; look down upon that embattled city, with its walls, its towers, and its gates—so beautifully stern, so romantically desert; the courts of the Lord's house are still exposed to view, as when they were traversed by long procession of Levites, when they sounded to the foot-fall of the rejoicing tribes at the annual festival; those courts echoed to the sounds of the Hosannah; that corner, where still stands the house of the civil governor, gave back the shout of "Crucify him, crucify him." On that platform is now erected the mosque of Omar, of most beautiful and graceful proportions, covering the portion of rock projecting from the surface, on which Abraham offered up Isaac. Those that have looked upon the most beautiful specimens of Mohammedan architecture allow that this mosque of the second Caliph yields to none in elegance and symmetry of structure: round it are smaller buildings, of light and fantastic shapes, interspersed with a few stately cypresses: at the extreme end is the mosque of Al Aksa, a Christian church of the crusaders, appropriated by the Mohammedans. So clear is the atmosphere—so immediately does the hill of olives overhang the sacred court, still called "Al Harem," that every action of the faithful can be watched, and the contemplation of the white-robed figures glancing across

the shining floor, or solemnly ranged in the attitude of prayer, adds to the interest of the scene. Outside the walls of the sacred enclosure, the whole of Jerusalem is exposed to the view—each minaret, each dome, the church of the sepulchre, and church of the monasteries, rises up distinctly and separately delineated, and in the extreme back-ground the frowning Castle of David, by the Jaffa gate, on the hill of Sion.

All, all the works of man have undergone, repeated and entire changes, since those feet stood on this hill, and those eyes wept at the contemplation of the scene, knowing by Divine perception the miseries which were coming and have come. It is in vain that monkish fiction points out with exactitude spots and buildings consecrated to the ignorant by holy associations. Reason rejects it. History tells us too clearly and distinctly, what was repeatedly the fate of Jerusalem, under Titus, under the Persians, under the Caliphs. Sieges and sackings innumerable, religious persecutions without end, have been the portion of Jerusalem. Prophecy, and divine revelation, remind us that one stone was not to be left on another: we cannot rest with satisfaction on any work of the hands of man, or say with confidence that “this is old Jerusalem.” But different are the feelings with which, seated on Mount Olivet, we can look at the physical features, which surround this mountain city. Man and Time have written no wrinkle on that stern circle of hills, within which our redemption was worked out. Conquering armies have passed no plough-share down the deep precipice of the valley of Hinnom; the fountain which gushes forth at Siloah, is still blended with the perennial sources of Kedron: though the descendants of Abraham have been uprooted, and severed from the land of their forefathers, we know that the olive, which decks the slope of the mountain, is of the stock of those trees, which furnished branches to spread in the way of Him, who came in the name of the Lord. Fancy carries us further back: we people the scene with forms and figures, long since slumbering in the adjacent burial-grounds. That footpath, which, like a slender line, leads down from the corner of the temple, and the pool of Bethesda to Gethsemane, and crossing the brook Kedron climbs up the side of Olivet, and across its shoulder conducts to Bethany and Jericho,—in the days of Melchizedek, in the days of David, in the days when the High Priest went out with the Urim and Thummim to meet Alexander, in the days when Cæsar Augustus commanded the world to be taxed; that footpath must have followed the same line, as now, down the natural declivity. We see in imagination the aged king flying before his rebellious Absa-



lorn, walking with his head covered, and bare-footed, up the ascent of Olivet, and the people weeping as they went up with him. We see him return in triumph, encircled by the tribe of Judah: how many a time has the valley rung with the shouts of the exulting tribes, as the shining pinnacle of the first and latter house first caught their sight? In all times, seasons of war or of peace, how many a solemn procession of elders and relatives have filed out to accompany some deceased son of Abraham to his last home in the Hebrew cemetery over against the beautiful gate of the temple, to be in readiness for the sound of the trumpet in the last day, bidding him enter his heavenly Jerusalem! How often, oh! how often, did our Saviour in his short ministry traverse that valley, on his road from the city to the house of Martha and Mary at Bethany? We see him standing to weep over the fate of the devoted city, and now descending the hill side, over a path strewn with olive branches, amidst the hosannahs of his disciples. Tears obscure our sight, but the whole scene is before our eyes, winding up the narrow pathway betwixt Gethsemane and the gate of St. Stephen. We see the menials of the High Priest, with swords and staves, dragging the Saviour of the world like a thief to ignominy and death, betrayed by his disciples and deserted by his followers. Darker visions press themselves forward, and these quiet hills resound with the martial clamour of a beleaguering army, and the smoke of the captured and burning city goes up in the dark cloud, which has enveloped the temple and people of the Jews. Re-built, re-destroyed, a place of pilgrimage, a place of martyrdom, a new city springs up on Sion, but no peace within the walls, no plenty within the palaces: the Jew armed against the Christian, the Christian against the Jew, the Heathen against both. In vain the piety of Constantine, and St. Helena, erected temples on Mount Calvary, and lined the tomb with marble. With the Empire of Greece fell Christianity; and the abomination of desolation again stood in the holy place, when the Caliph Omar took possession of Jerusalem, and placed his signet on Mount Moriah: then followed persecution, till the wrath of outraged Christendom was roused, and Jerusalem was again beleaguered: her streets ran again with blood: for a few years the symbol of the Cross floated on the temple and on Mount Olivet; a few short years and the reign of Anti-Christ is again restored, and the Crescent again triumphs over the Cross. And it adds no little to the solemnity of the scene to bear in mind, that great things are yet to be transacted in these scenes;—that, interpret prophecy as we may, it is clearly indicated that the land of

Palestine and the city of Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives, are to be the theatre in which are to be exhibited the most illustrious displays of Divine power, and the most splendid demonstrations of the Divine origin of our holy faith.

If such can be the feelings of the Christian, what must be those suggested to the sincere, thinking and devout Hebrew, as he drinks in the landscape; as he looks wistfully and mournfully on his lost heritage, on the courts of the ruined temple, which he may not enter, on the streets of the city of his ancestors, in which he finds himself insulted and scouted? Anguish inexpressible, burning shame, and a stiff-necked rebelling and murmuring against the inscrutable decrees of Providence, a doubting of the justness of the dispensation of so long and lasting a punishment against a race once so favored. Still, though they are judicially blind to the whole series of prophecies, extending from Genesis to Malachi, against their nation and their religion, though they cannot open their eyes upon the curse which fell upon them, they cherish a fervent conviction, that God has not entirely deserted them, that the time will come, and even now is at hand, when they will be restored from this their second captivity, that the promised Messiah will still come, and in the form of an earthly potentate gather them from the isles and restore them to Jerusalem: to Judah from the river of Egypt to the River Euphrates, to the land of the promise, which God promised to Abraham and his seed *for an everlasting possession*. Despised and contemned by the Christian, excluded by the most free of nations from a share in their councils, persecuted, robbed and murdered by the Mohammedan, as avarice or fanaticism tempts him, they still proudly feel, that to the Hebrew the religions of both their persecutors are indebted for their doctrine, and much of their ritual; they still look on Sion as their own loved and lost possession; willingly they pay large sums to be permitted weekly to approach the walls of the temple basement, so as to touch with their hands the desecrated stones, and to wail over their disinheritance: and, as age creeps over them, they leave country, comfort and kindred, to sojourn awhile in the holy city, to bear persecution in sight of Sion, and leave their mouldering bones to rot in the valley of Jehoshaphat.

And here the awful question suggests itself, will they be restored, when and how? That they will be restored, can there be doubt? The time and manner rest with that infinite Wisdom, with whom a thousand years are but as one day; but the inference to be drawn from the whole series of the prophetic books is, that the punishment of the ancient people of

God is but temporary—that the land was promised to the seed of Abraham for ever and ever; that he who scattered Israel, will in due time gather them, for the seed of Jacob will not be cast off, until the heavens are measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out.

Well may the Hebrew recollect the past, and bewail his beautiful Zion. We read the history, we reflect upon the overpowering interest concentrated in the erection of the temple, the costly structure, the national pride. We look down with unmitigated, unrestrained surprise, and passing by, we ask, why has the Lord done this unto this land, and unto His house, which was high? All is answered, the people are a bye-word and a proverb among all nations, and the house an astonishment.

And what is the present state of this celebrated, this holy city, which lies stretched at our feet, no corner of which can escape our gaze, as our eyes travel round the walls that enclose it? Who are the people, who inhabit this sacred spot? Surely the very air must be purifying of the evil affections of the human heart; this, at least, is not a place for pride, or for enmity, for religious rancour, where the hand of God has been felt so visibly, where men have suffered so heavily. Alas! it is a city divided against itself; within this small space are gathered together, are fondly nourished to a degree of intensity unknown elsewhere, the worst passions of mankind: envy, hatred and malice, religious pride and intolerance, slanderous imputations and corrupt intrigues. One quarter of the city is inhabited by the Mohammedans, who are masters of the country, and whose religion is therefore dominant; but their power and prestige have perished utterly, their buildings are tottering and out of repair; the spirit of intolerance is as strong and willing as ever, but the fleshly arm of persecution is weak; they are inferior in number, wealth, and influence, to their Christian fellow-citizens; and it is with difficulty that they can preserve the inviolability of their sanctuaries from the profane step of the Giaour. This city is almost as sacred to them as to the Christians: it contains the tomb of David, and his son Solomon: the throne of the latter, that subject of a hundred legends, was once established there. Within that city is the rock of Al Sakrah, where Abraham offered up Isaac, and whence Mohammed, according to the legends of the faithful, started on his celestial journey. The city is called by them Al Kudsh, or Shuhr al Mucaddas. As the pilgrims enter the city, they cry out "Allah Akbar!" It is not uncommon to meet Indian pilgrims, who have wandered so far—they have their

own hospice, and by a very singular coincidence, the trade of pedlars of small goods, including Christian reliques, at the very door of the holy sepulchre, has fallen into the hands of the natives of Eastern India, who claim, and are admitted, as subjects of the British Empire.

Another quarter of the city is occupied by the Jews, who have two great divisions, the Sephardim or Spanish, and Iskana-zim or German Jews. In their own city they are despised and insulted. As an instance of petty annoyance, it may be mentioned, that the shambles of the city are forcibly located in the midst of these houses, in the same spirit which had led to a house immediately adjoining the sepulchre being converted into a tanner's yard, merely to annoy the Christians. But few of the Jews are settled or born there: the majority are those who come on the pilgrimage, or who come to die, and leave their bones in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Much of the former persecution, which assailed them, has been stayed, and to England they are indebted for political protection. Missionaries labour for their conversion, schools are opened for their education, hospitals under an English surgeon for the many, who arrive on their long and last pilgrimage, sick and in beggary. Every means is taken to conciliate them; those who minister to their wants are chiefly Jewish converts; the male wards of the hospital are named after the Patriarch, the female wards after the wives of Jacob. Still they generally spurn the hand which wishes to minister to their wants, they dread the spirit of conversion, a proof of which may be found in their late address to the head of their faith, Sir Moses Montefiore, praying him to found schools and hospitals to counteract the baneful effects of the Anglo-Protestant establishment.

Another quarter of the city is occupied by the Armenians, who, though Christians, are distinguished as being Asiatics from their fellow-religionists, who are generally known as Franks, and occupy the fourth quarter, divided among themselves into Greeks, Roman Catholics, and Protestants, as Religion here usurps the place of nationality elsewhere. Each denomination has its churches or convents, hospices, hospitals, schools, its priests, and its pilgrims, and in late days, its consuls to protect it against the civil power, and its printing press to wage polemical war against religious antagonists. So bitter is the feeling, that parties live for years within a few paces of each other without acquaintance, without even mutual acknowledgment, who elsewhere would have, in a few days, ripened from acquaintance into intimacy. Travellers, who are welcomed by all, and who flutter like butterflies from patriarch

to bishop, from the monastery to the synagogue, from the shrine of the Blessed Virgin to the seraglio of the Pasha, are surprised to find that at each door they enter a distinct world, that the few yards of the Via Dolorosa, down which they have thoughtlessly paced, is indeed a wide gulph of worldly and spiritual ideas between fellow-men. It is not the language only that is changed, but the social and moral sentiments, the rooted ideas of right and wrong, the prejudices and dogmas of centuries. You are now sitting smoking the pipe of a kind and hearty Christian, discussing the locality of a sacred spot; but you know that his views of the Trinity are such, that without doubt *he must perish everlastingly*, according to the rooted and proclaimed creed of the equally amiable and obliging fellow-religionist, whose hand you have just clasped: he is openly alluded to as an idolator, as the Anti-Christ, as a deceiver of men's souls, by the next preacher of the words of peace, whom you may chance to call upon: the Mohammedan, with a smile on his face, and cringing civility in his manner, curses the Nazarene dog in his heart: the Hebrew, in the bitterness of his spirit, prays earnestly and deeply for the time, when he may wreak his cherished vengeance on all whom the city contains, for to him they are all, persecutors as well as insidious benefactors, unclean Gentiles, and an abomination.

Turn back, ere you leave the mount, and survey the country in your rear, and ask yourself, if your eyes have ever fallen upon a scene more desolate: the most striking objects are the blue waters of the Dead Sea, and the awe-inspiring hills of Moab and Ammon, as if the dark features of the history of the inhabitants of the plain, and the unnatural origin of the inhabitants of the hills, were written and indelibly engraved on the natural features of the country as a lesson to mankind. To the north is the deep valley of the River Jordan, which winds the length of two hundred miles through a wild and uninhabited country, from the lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea, into which it pours a perennial stream, without any visible increase to the body of collected waters. All the hills have a desolate and solemn appearance, no forest verdure, no trace of the habitation of man, but all lifting up their bare heads in a sad and melancholy appeal to the spectator to ponder upon the works of the chastening hand of God in ancient time. We turn away oppressed by the sight, and we again feed our vision upon the beautiful outline of tower, minaret, and dome, and ask whether the old inhabitants of Jerusalem, ere the chastening hand of God fell upon them, ever stood to look on the signal memorial of the vengeance of the Almighty on the inhabitants of the cities

of the plain, before the race of Abraham began, while Sarah was yet childless;—whether they ever reflected upon the possibility of the threats conveyed by the voice of Moses and the prophets being fulfilled? Why should they? Are Christians held back by the example of the punishment of Jerusalem, added to that of Gomorrah?

But it is time to descend, to enter the gates of the holy city, and to kneel at the sepulchre, to pass from the contemplation of Jewish misfortune to the scene of Jewish crime. But ere we descend, let us remember that we stand near the spot, where the mission of the Son of God was completed, where, for the past, prophecy having been completed, for the future, a new dispensation announced, the stone being cut out of the mountain without hand, Jesus, son of Mary, parted from his apostles, and was taken up into heaven. The place is not fixed by any passage of the evangelists, but we have universal and uninterrupted tradition, strong probability,—and the place thereof is worthy of the event. Look therefore once more on the physical landscape, on the union of mountain and valley, on the green terraces of Sion, on the platform of Moriah, on the solemn circuit of undulating and olive-crowned hills: picture to yourself the glorious edifice of the second temple, the fortress of the Romans, the palace of old Jerusalem, as they presented themselves to the Saviour when the cloud received him out of the sight of his apostles; then descend, and following the path, which leads down the hill, remark without scorn, if without belief, the different spots between the mount and the sepulchre, which pious tradition has sanctified. It is the peculiarity, perhaps the defect, of enthusiastic piety, to desire to give to every act, every discourse of the object of veneration, a local habitation and a name; and thus it happens, that the short space to be traversed, presents a succession of traditional mementos for the edification of Christians. We are shown the spot, where the Lord's prayer was first pronounced, though it would be inferred from the Gospel of St. Matthew, that it was in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee that Christians were first taught after what manner to pray; further down the hill side we are shown, with no confirmatory proofs, the ruin, in which the apostles assembled to compose the creed which still bears their name. Lower down we come on the spot, whence Jesus looked and wept over Jerusalem, and where, a few years after, the tent of Titus, the delight of the human race, was pitched, when he came and cast a trench, and compassed the devoted city on every side, leaving not one stone on the other; an awful coincidence, supported so far by probability,

as well as tradition, inasmuch as it commands a view of the whole city, on the turn of the road from Bethany, and history tells us, that it was the place of encampment of one of the Roman legions.

We are now on the edge of the Jewish burial-ground—which contains the ashes of the multitudes and multitudes, who are awaiting the sound of the last trump in the valley of Jehoshaphat, over against the temple, where, according to Mohammedan legend, at the last day Mohammed is to stand: opposite to us, but separated by the deep ravine, is the golden gate, leading to the temple, but kept jealously closed; as tradition has it, that by that gate the Christian will enter and take final possession of the city. Below us the eye falls upon the pillar in the king's dale, built by childless Absalom, to keep his name in remembrance, and which every devout Hebrew still curses, on account of his rebellion against David. And now we are at the bottom of the valley, on the brink of the brook Kedron, standing amidst eight time-honoured and venerable olive trees, which compose the garden of Gethsemane; we look up on both sides in awe; the Mount of Olives, and the walls of the temple, the whole scene comes visibly before us, the holy calm, the prayer in agony, the sleeping disciples, then the confusion of the capture, the glare of torches, the clamour of rude voices, the treacherous salutation of the Apostate, worse than the maledictions of the priests, and the vulgar sneers of the rabble, exulting in their triumph. This is, indeed, the spot on which was committed the most grievous of human crimes. The crucifixion, the scourging, the insults, were the acts of foreigners, of hirelings, in a moment of excitement, on the person of a supposed criminal; they emphatically knew not what they did; but for the apostle to betray the Master, to whom he had spontaneously attached himself, who had been witness of His acts of benevolence,—for the priests to capture, and on no just cause make over to slaughter one of their own kindred, religion, and royal race, one who had done such mighty works, would surpass belief, as being beyond human baseness; but it was written, and it must needs be fulfilled. Standing here, we feel the agony of the moment, we cannot wish that the cup had passed away, for upon it hangs our salvation; we see the blow of the enthusiastic Peter, giving birth to the last of a long course of miracles, an act of kindness to an enemy; we see the shepherd stricken, and the sheep scattered! The venerable olive trees in the garden are, by some, supposed to be the very trees of Gethsemane: they are certainly anterior to the Mohammedan conquest.

A few paces on, we enter upon a spot hallowed by tradition, as sanctified by miracles not recorded in the Bible, and from some circumstances unique in the world. The tomb of Abraham at Hebron, the tomb of David and Solomon at Sion, and the temple of Jerusalem, are spots, at which Jew, Mohammedan, and Christian would kneel side by side; but the latter are prevented by religious fanaticism, and the first named are debarred, by ceremonial impurity, from entering the precincts. Close to the garden of Gethsémane, is the supposed tomb of the blessed Virgin, the mother of Christ: not that her body rests there, for those, who believe in the tomb, believe also, that on the day of her death, she was miraculously taken up into heaven. Her cenotaph is one of the most holy spots to the Greek, Roman Catholic, Syrian, Copt, and Armenian Christians, and strange to say, the same roof covers a Mohammedan altar to "Sitee Miriam am i Nabi Esa," the Lady Mary, the mother of the Prophet Jesus; and pilgrims from distant Hindostan do not think the pilgrimage of Mecca completed, without their visiting the rock of Moriah and the tomb of the Virgin. There is, perhaps, no parallel in the world. Who would imagine that a place existed, where the worshippers in St. Peter's at Rome, and St. Sophia at Constantinople, could kneel together?

We now ascend the steep side of Moriah, and passing by the grave-yard of the Mohammedans, arrive at the spot, where was shed the blood of the earliest martyr of Christianity. The entrance of the city is on the edge of the precipice, in a line with the straight wall of the temple, and must be identical with the eastern gate, at any period since the time of Solomon. This gate is still known as that of St. Stephen, and here standing, he saw the heavens open; here they stoned him, while calling upon his Master, and praying for their pardon: here, from the ashes of his devotion and holiness, rose up, like a phoenix, the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

Bow your head, and enter the sacred precincts, and you stand on the edge of the pool of Bethesda: no angel now troubles the pool, no sick are healed. The angel of ruin and desolation has passed over it; the sheep market and the porches have perished. Pass along the road in silence, — even to look to the right, exposes the Christian to insult; to attempt to pass down the three narrow ways through which a peep is gained of the court-yard of the Temple, would bring down a shower of stones, and outrage from the guardians of the enclosure, and the loiterers among the faithful: but these days will soon pass away. At the furthest extremity of the temple you arrive at the house of the Pasha of Jerusalem, occupying,



unquestionably, the site of the *Turris Antonia*, erected in order to overlook and command the temple, the official residence of Pontius Pilate, the Civil Governor of Judea. Here commenced the series of outrage and insult, which terminated in the cross: it was but an affair of a few hours, though the consequences were to be the condemnation of one nation for centuries, and the redemption of the world unto eternity. It was not till the evening of Thursday, that the feast of Pass-over was eaten, (the room is supposed to have been on Mount Sion, and is still shown:) after which comes the scene in Gethsemane. The capture was at night, and until morning, when the cock crew, counsel was held in the house of the High Priest on Sion, which ended in the Prisoner's being conveyed to the Civil Governor, at the house where we now stand: here took place the scourging, (marked by a small chapel) the indignity of the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. Tradition even points out the spot, where he was shown to the people, where Barabbas was preferred to him, where Pilate washed his hands of the blood of the Just, which remains, as invoked, on the head of his persecutors and their children. This occupied but a short space of time. It is sad to think how soon the innocent are condemned: when the account of the rapid condemnation, the absence of charges, of witnesses, the brutality of the Roman guards, and the recklessness of the Civil Governor, are thought of on the spot where these outrages took place, the blood boils with indignation and sorrow at the iniquity of human rulers, in the case of any man — any innocent man: and how much more so in this case?

It was still early in the morning, when the order to crucify was given, and the melancholy procession commenced from the palace of the Governor, to the place called *Golgotha*, outside the walls of the town: so artfully had the priests arranged, that between sunset on Thursday and nine o'clock on Friday, their atrocious plans were carried out, and completed, before even the news of the capture had reached the hundreds of Galilee, and of the villages of Judea, who had known and seen His works. The street between this point and *Calvary*, is called the *Via Dolorosa*, and a superstitious piety has marked out as many as twelve stations, at which the cortege stopped, and at which some action took place. Many a town in Europe still exhibits specimens of the piety of the middle ages in commemoration of this mournful procession. The pilgrim is shown the spot, where, at the meeting of the Damascus road, Simon the Cyrenian, coming out of the country, was laid hold of to carry the cross; further on, where the Saviour stumbled,

where He met and accosted the daughters of Jerusalem, for be it recorded, even then He was followed by a great crowd of people and women, who also lamented Him: at length He approached Calvary, and on that spot He was crucified, and buried in a garden near unto the place.

It is mournful to think, that learned and good men should have waged such bitter war on the identity of this spot. Eighteen hundred years have elapsed, since, on a mound outside the gate of Jerusalem, a then obscure religious enthusiast, as he was deemed, accompanied by two malefactors, suffered the extreme penalty of the law. His followers, undismayed, formed themselves into a society, increased and multiplied in spite of opposition, and were found scattered over distant parts of the Roman Empire, when a storm burst upon the city of their persecutors, which ended in the utter destruction of their temple and city, and violent uprooting and dispersion of their nation. But singularly enough, the Romans saw no distinction between the Jew and the Christian, and, when the city was re-built, under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, a statue of Venus was erected over the tomb of the Saviour, and some other mark of insult on the site of the temple of the Jews. But the stone that was cut out without hands, became a great mountain; and the lapse of three centuries saw stately edifices rise to cover the Calvary, and the tomb was lined with marble; how much more edifying, could we stoop down and look in, as the disciples did, and that no gorgeous ornament had violated the quiet beauty of the garden! Since then Jerusalem has been sacked, plundered, and burnt, by Heathen, Mohammedan, and Christian armies; not, perhaps, one stone stands on another of the building erected by the sainted mother of Constantine; but are we to set aside, on the casuistry of modern travellers, who cannot reconcile the contour of ancient cities to suit their notions, the uninterrupted tradition of fifteen hundred years, based upon careful investigation made by the Ruler of the time into the history of the past three hundred, with regard to the identity of a spot, the most cherished, most honored by a sect of increasing power, number and importance? Yet there are those, who wish to uproot the history of the past—to remove the tomb anywhere or nowhere, by a capricious fancy, in spite of the tradition of centuries: but with them we have nought to do. Entering Jerusalem as pilgrims, we stand before the door of the building, which contains under one roof the Mount of Calvary, and the tomb hewn out of the rock. On these let our attention be fixed, in pity, not in ridicule: let us pass by the numerous spots, which enthusiastic piety has marked out for observation upon little or no authority,

without any physical peculiarity. So entirely transformed is the whole scene from what could have been expected, that it is some time ere we recognize Calvary in the elevated chapel to which we rise by wooden stairs, and the tomb in the narrow stone chamber hard by, into which we enter with difficulty, amidst crowds of weeping Christians. Of all churches and chapels in the world, this is the one the most interesting, but suggesting the most painful reflections, both as to its past history and present position. The style is barbaric, but magnificent; a circular opening in the dome, like the Colosseum of Rome, allows the sun and the rain to descend upon the tomb; but our eyes are pained by seeing that the church is in the possession of Mohammedans—that the gorgeous processions of Christians, which sweep with banners, and pictures, and trappings round the tomb of the prince of peace (how unlike their principles), are guarded by infidel attendants to protect them from the attacks of sectaries of the same faith: the whole building is portioned into fragments, possessed and guarded jealously by priests of the Greek, Syrian, Roman Catholic, Abyssinian, Armenian, and Coptic sectarians, some members of whom are locked in every night by the Mohammedan guards, to prevent surprise or outrage upon the shrines in their possession. The Protestant church, in all its various sects, may be proud in not being mentioned in this category, in having no visible portion in this partitioning. Like the absence of the images of Brutus and Cassius, in the funeral procession of Junia, real Christianity is more thought of in its absence. Having no square feet of pavement to protect, or altars to lament, as torn away from them, or to guard jealously as having been lately surreptitiously taken possession of, Protestants can give themselves up to the “*religio loci*,” and kneel without reserve on Calvary, and in the tomb, mindful of the sufferings undergone on the former, and the triumphs won in the latter.

Yes, let them not hesitate to kneel: all around are kneeling, all in prayer, save those two Anglican, or Trans-Atlantic, Franks, who, like the Pharisee, are too proud to confess themselves sinners, and like the impenitent thief, can be sarcastic, and splenetic on Calvary: they stalk round and about, but they excite no attention, for the humble-minded crowd are kneeling and in prayer: look around, as perhaps your eyes never fell upon Christian pilgrims in such guise before—in a more holy place you will never see them again: whence come they?—Many a far distant shore, many a mountain, unknown to fame, the sunny climes of Italy, the blest islands of Ionia, the vast steppes of Russia, and the snowy mountains of Caucasus, have sent forth their hundreds to undergo

perils by land and by sea, hunger and fatigue, to obtain the privilege of kneeling at the tomb of the Saviour: look around, tender women, fair-haired children, old men built after the mould of Abraham, young men such as were the sons of Jacob, maidens such as Ruth and Rebecca, differing in language, in dress, in country, and in creed, they kneel side by side, actuated by the one common feeling of veneration for the scene of the Passion and Resurrection of their Redeemer. And will not each of that numerous crowd return to their distant hamlet and humble home, and to their latest hour talk with fervour and pride of their successful pilgrimage? And though we cannot sympathise with the spiritual advantage, which they are supposed to gain, we can in sincerity believe, that none return without a strengthening of their religious impressions, and a firmer faith in the Christian dispensation.

And what is the state of Christ's church, catholic and undivided, as represented, in the Metropolitan church of the earliest bishopric of Christendom? Each church, orthodox or sectarian, has its representative in the city, and, with the exception of the Protestants, its peculiar shrine beneath the dome of the church of the sepulchre; there they keep their high days and holidays; there, according to their means, and the number of their communicants, they lead forth their processions, and follow out their heterodox rituals, to the scandal of Christendom, and to the delight of the followers of Islam. Unless seen weekly, and admitted by all, the fact would appear incredible, that the different sectarians should perform their rituals in the same circumscribed building, in hearing and sight, and to the manifest disturbance of each other. As the stately Armenian bishops, and venerable clergy in their magnificent trappings, are sailing round and round the tomb, they have, escorted by the Mohammedan guards, to manœuvre and file off at the sides to prevent collision with the rabble procession of the Greek church, issuing suddenly with tapers, censers, banners and pictures from the chancel, which is their private possession, to go through some prescribed ceremony in the tomb of our Lord, which is common to all. The organs and musical instruments of the rival religionists clamour in irreverent confusion in competition with each other—a “Nunc dimittas” of the Latin church, perhaps rudely interrupting the “Kyrie Eleëson” in the responsive litanies of the Greek; while again at the next solemn moment of the elevation of the Host in the Roman ritual, while all are silent to the tinkling bell, a dense crowd are driven violently over the kneeling Catholics by the passage of a Greek column sweeping triumphantly by with pipes and

cymbals. And such to be the state of things in the church of St. James the Apostle, who was the first to inculcate the mild precepts of mutual forbearance and concession in religious differences !

It may be not uninteresting to detail the separate churches, which are represented in Jerusalem. First, in rank, and in antiquity, is the ancient Greek church, the mother of churches—the patriarch of which still, in spite of the claims of Rome, sits with an uninterrupted spiritual succession on the throne of St. James. The members of this church are numerous, and scattered over Greece and its islands, the Empire of Turkey and Russia, to which last it looks for political support ; but now to what a pitch of degradation and ignorance have the professors of this ancient religion fallen !—a low, ignorant and stubborn priesthood—the great mass of the worshippers uneducated, and superstitious—the services are in Greek—all spirituality has long since given way to empty and vain ceremony—to chanting of litanies, lighting of tapers, kissing of pictures : it is true, that owing to the fervour of the iconoclasts of former times, nothing approaching in shape to the conformations of the human body is allowed, no statue, or even alto-relievo is seen in their churches ; but the redundancy in number, and the degradation of the worship of pictures, appears to have been inflicted as a special punishment upon the followers of this church, especially encouraged by the priesthood : it is, indeed, the outward and visible sign of their worship.

And here, in sorrow, shame and sinking of heart, a statement must be made with regard to this and the other Syrian churches ;—it must be allowed that the purest and most elevated of faiths become degraded and distorted in proportion to the ignorance and social degradation of the worshippers. Let those who have been accustomed to witness the Christian religion, as practised by an educated and civilized people, with all the prestige, that wealth, station, and learning can bestow, seek an obscure village in the Syrian mountains, inhabited by Christians of a degraded church, in extreme social depression under a heathen government : let him converse with the minister of that religion, enter the spot dedicated to the service, and witness the ritual and worship of the crowd : the hideous and unsightly paintings or images of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Saviour—the grovelling prostrations of the ignorant worshippers—the kissing of the ground, of the hand of the priest—the superstitious and senseless adoration of the idol—are paralleled, but not surpassed, by any thing seen in a Hindu temple. Take those

worshippers apart, and inquire of them searchingly concerning their feelings with regard to the past, their faith, their hopes or fears for the future, and he will be astonished to find how the purest faith can be corrupted into a resemblance to the degraded superstitions of heathenism. Nor is Jerusalem itself free from this reflection, when we see the mitred archbishop in state lie down prostrate to salute the supposed stone of the unction, and pilgrims blindly led round to kiss each spot in methodical routine, and lay down their copper coins, according to the usages established by a rapacious priesthood.

Next to the Greek is the Armenian church: the hierarchy and ritual of a people, who have been swept from the list of nations, and whose existence, like that of the Jews, is only perpetuated by the peculiarity of their tenets, and who, like the above-mentioned people, are scattered among all nations, but are universally wealthy, thriving, and respected. Their original country is now included in the Empire of Russia, under whose protection the church flourishes at Erivan in Armenia, and at Jerusalem: they seceded, in early days, from the Greek orthodox church on some question of ritual, or tenet, and are now a distinct and acknowledged, but heretical church. As wealth pours in, they have become more enlightened, their worship is less degraded, their priesthood more respectable: without seeking for converts, they encourage education, and have a printing press at Jerusalem, to distribute the Scriptures and religious tales to the pilgrims of their faith, who crowd in thousands to their spacious and magnificent hospice and convent on Mount Sion.

In communion with the Armenian church, as being opposed to the orthodox Greek church on the same heretical grounds, are the three national churches of the Syrians, the Copts, and the Abyssinians—all poor, degraded, and ignorant; but they are ancient, and numerous churches. The head-quarters of the Syrian are at Martund in Diarbukr, in the Turkish provinces of Central Asia; of the Coptish at Alexandria, and of the Abyssinian in the higher Nilotic provinces. Under the dome of the Holy Sepulchre, shrines are shown, served by the dusky priests of each ritual, and they have their convents, their chapels, and their reliques outside. Two other Eastern churches, though not represented at the tomb of the Saviour, must be mentioned to complete the category of the ancient and degraded churches, the Maronites and Nestorians.

These are the Asiatic churches; it is among the followers of these churches, that the Anglican and American missions have, within the last twenty years, commenced a crusade, being

restricted by the law of the land, which makes death the punishment of the renegade Mohammedan. But for the last three hundred years these churches have had to resist the attacks more or less vigorous—in late years, systematically and ardently prosecuted—of the catholic church of the holy Roman see. At the time when the crusades first gave the Latins an ascendancy in Syria, the dissent of the Protestants had not come into existence; the religious hold obtained by the see of Rome, through the agency of the arms of Europe, has never been waived, and has always been under the special protection of the kingdom of France, and has of late years been converted into a ground of political antagonism against Russia, the patron of the Greeks. In no place is the attitude of the Romish hierarchy more dignified than at Jerusalem. Represented by a patriarch, a man of European rank and learning, of stately dignity, and commanding intellect, supported by a chosen cohort of learned, devout, and devoted missionaries, furnished by the Propaganda, there under the dome of the sepulchre sits in pride, the unchanged, unchangeable church of Rome—smiling at the divisions, the doubts, and differences of the sects which have seceded from her.

Against the array of learning and zeal, the struggle of ignorance and degradation was not long; and the consequence has been that one-half of the Nestorians have seceded from their church, and acknowledging the see of Rome, are known as the Chaldæans. A large portion of the Syrian church have seceded in the same manner, forming a Syro-Roman establishment. The Maronite church was from the commencement under the guidance of Rome; and the ancient Greek orthodox church has been more than decimated by a seceding Greek-Catholic church in every town, and nearly every hamlet. All over Syria, and in many parts of Asia, are scattered Roman Catholic monasteries, at which trained missionaries are stationed for certain periods of years, each the centre of educational measures. The printing press of the Franciscan convent at Jerusalem throws off selections from the bible, tracts, treatises, and catechisms in the Vernacular, Arabic, and in Italian; and the large girls' schools at Bethlehem, Nazareth and Jerusalem, show that the importance of female education is rightly estimated. But much as we wonder at the steady and silent determination of these arrangements, we find greater cause for wonder in the adaptation of the religion to all degrees of civilization: unto the Jews they become Jews, to them that are without the law as without the law. In these Eastern churches we find no celibacy enjoined for the priesthood, no denial of the cup to the laity; they are allowed their

own liturgy in their own language, their own ministers and forms of worship; the only indispensable necessary is the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Pope, as head of the church catholic, and the rejection of the errors of the Greek church as to the procession of the Holy Ghost. But a formidable rival has sprung up to the Papal power, and is now wrestling with it for the remainder of the old churches, and even for its own flock, in the evangelical missions of England and the United States, who in late years have begun to develop themselves in Syria and Central Asia, and have thrown down the gauntlet deliberately against Rome.

This renders necessary a short mention of the different Protestant denominations, which are represented in Syria. First in order stands the Anglican bishop. The anomalous position of this episcopate is scarcely sufficiently understood: here we have a bishop without a clergy, a flock, or a diocese, in the usually received meaning of those words. The late bishop was a converted Jew, and many imagined, that this ought to be a necessary qualification for the office. However, the present incumbent is a Gentile, a native of Calvinist Switzerland. Employed many years as a missionary in Abyssinia, he was appointed to the see by the Lutheran King of Prussia, the joint patron of the episcopate; to enable the archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him to this so-called Anglican bishopric, he was naturalized as an Englishman. His cathedral church is considered a portion of the British Consulate, and is only tolerated in that light by the Turkish authorities; the building was erected at the expense of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews; the subordinate missionary is by birth a Dane, ordained of the English establishment; but as a great portion of the Protestants connected with the mission are Lutheran Germans, there is also a Lutheran clergyman, under the nominal orders of the bishop, but not under his ecclesiastical controul, as the minister in question does not seem to belong to an episcopal church. Services are performed daily in Hebrew, once on Sunday in English, according to the Anglican ritual, also in German, according to the Lutheran ritual: at Nazareth is a house of the Church Missionary Society, the minister of which is a Frenchman, assisted by a Jewish convert. An idea can thus be formed of the nationality and orthodoxy of the Anglican establishment.

We next come to the missions of the United States. The American Board of Missions has long been established, and has been prosecuting the labours of education and proselytism from the corrupt churches with success. Since the establishment



of the Anglican bishopric, they have retired from Jerusalem, and their stations are at Beyrout, Sidon, Tripoli, Aleppo, and Mosul. They are labouring consistently and well, and are extending their operations; they have normal schools to supply pastors and teachers, boys' and girls' schools, churches, and are preparing to found local ministers and churches, as the number of their congregations increases. It is an interesting and edifying reflection, that the pious Christians of the distant United States are labouring to repay the debt of gratitude they owe to the land of the Gospel. These missions are of the Presbyterian denomination, and are in close connection with the mission of the Irish Presbyterian church established at Damascus.

Connected only by ties of nationality, but nothing further, with the above-mentioned mission, are the two latest arrived representatives of Christian churches. During the past year has appeared at Jerusalem an amiable and accomplished member of the medical profession, deputed by a new sect in the United States, who approach in a great measure to the Baptist denomination, but who wish to be considered Bible Christians. The church is in its infancy, but already Jerusalem has been troubled by the occasional ceremonies of immersion of adult converts in the pool of Siloam, at the foot of Mount Moriah; and early this year have arrived, to the number of many families, a sect of Christians, who open up questions long set at rest by the consent of all churches, and are known as Sabbatarians, from their keeping the Levitical day of rest. There are also, as may be imagined, congregated in this holy city, (and the number will, doubtless, now be increased), individuals of both sexes, with intellects to a certain degree deranged, who have taken up their residence on Mount Sion, to await, like the old Simeon, the consolation of Israel.

Jerusalem is so small, that in one short hour, you can walk leisurely round its walls; from any one point you can survey the whole city; yet it is emphatically a city divided against itself: let us pray for the peace of the holy city, that no religious fury may pollute the streets with the blood of Christians, that the Saviour be not crucified again on Calvary; but it cannot be doubted, that the withdrawal of the Mohammedan rule would be followed by outrage; that in proportion as the privileges and immunities of the Christian sects have increased, and the fear of the Heathen has been removed, so have the bitter rivalries, the smothered hatred of centuries, begun to burst out; the chosen battle-field, the tomb of the Saviour; the chosen season, the anniversary of Easter. Pray then for the peace of

Christian Jerusalem, and let us leave the sacred walls and proceed on our journey.

Every spot round Jerusalem has its story and its associations, and days would be consumed in visiting them. The history of former days is written on the face of the country; and on entering Syria, you are at once aware that you are upon the theatre of great actions—the rocks gape with tombs, the heights are crowned with stone sarcophagi—the roads are tessellated with pavement—ruins of ancient cities: solitary arches of long disused aqueducts, broken bridges, fields teeming with columns of granite, standing amidst the waving corn, old reservoirs of magnificent proportions, harbours choked with sand, walls covered with seaweed—all tell the same tale, and hold up their silent hands in confirmation of the truth of history. At one narrow pass, where the Dog River flows into the ocean, we have memorials carved on the rock, recording some of the numerous conquerors: there is the vaunting inscription of the Latin Proconsul, as fresh as when Antonine widened the road; the confused Arabic inscriptions to record forgotten victories, or heroes unknown to fame: and far above, dimly delineated, the figures of the Assyrian monarchs, with their robes of state and their emblems, familiar now in Europe from the pages of Layard and Cotta. Round Jerusalem the interest becomes more intense. We visit the tree under which Isaiah was sawn asunder, the cave of Jeremiah, the tombs of the kings, the field of blood, still so called, *حقل دما* (Hukul dama), and used within a few years for the purpose of burying strangers. The tombs in the gardens round about have a melancholy interest—there no superstition or piety interrupts the chain of your pre-conceived notions. You run with Peter and the other disciple—you stoop down—you look in—there is the stone shelf where the body but just now was lying, here is the outer chamber where the angels announced that “He is not here, He is risen:”—do you not turn round in awe? do you not expect to meet the women on their mournful mission, or to be confronted with your newly risen Master?

Visit the convent of St. John in the Wilderness, where Mary saluted Elizabeth, and the babe leapt in the womb at the voice of the mother of its Lord. Here was transacted the first scene of the new dispensation. Pass on to the south, through the mountainous country, and carry yourself back fifteen hundred years, for you are at Rama, but a little way from Ephrath, which is Bethlehem; here Rachel travailed; here, as her soul was departing, she named her second-born Benoni; here she was buried, and her tomb is here unto this day. A few steps onward you enter Bethlehem, and you know why Rachel wept for her

children, and would not be comforted, for the servants of Herod must have passed by her grave on their inhuman mission.

Softly beautiful is the scenery of the environs of Bethlehem : pleasantly situated is the village on the slope of the hills. You look with delight on the fields in which Ruth was gleaning, when she was chosen to carry on the line of Judah—you imagine where her ruddy and beautiful grandson was keeping his sheep, when he was called to be anointed by the aged Samuel : in those fields, one thousand years after, shepherds were still watching their flocks, perhaps beguiling their night watch with the legends of that boy of Bethlehem, who had exchanged the crook for the sceptre, perhaps murmuring at the fall of his dynasty, when a new wonder was announced to them, that in the village of Bethlehem, of the line of their hero, was born the child, the good Shepherd of the world, whose kingdom should know no end. Go with the rejoicing and wondering shepherds, go in haste, and gaze reverently, not doubtingly, on the spot, where the Saviour was born. Marble and precious stones, and the wealth of this world, now decorate it—golden lamps hang from the ceiling, incense overpowers you. Think of the manger as the shepherds saw the babeling in it—think of the meek and lowly-minded mother, as she heard their tale, and pondered upon what was going to happen ;—scarce are the shepherds departed to spread the joyful news, when the star-directed Magi approach the same lowly abode, and fall down and worship the King of the Jews.

A few miles on, the traveller enters Kirjath Arba, which is Hebron, the fountain-head of the Jewish race. Here settled the wanderer from Chaldæa, on the plain of Mamre—here was conveyed to him the first promise that the land should be given to him and to his seed for ever—here the faithful patriarch built the first altar to the Lord—here he and his son, and his son's son, and their wives, sleep in the cave of Machpelah. At this point the three rival religions, for which the civilized world is indebted to the Semitic race, converge : here David was crowned king, and reigned seven years over his own tribe of Judah, ere he took the hill of Sion from the Jebusites. It is still a large and flourishing city, and one of the especial residence of the Jews. Though debarred by Mussalman jealousy from visiting the field of Ephron, we can follow the simple-minded pilgrims to the ancient oak tree, under which Abraham is said to have made the purchase of the children of Heth ; we can with much greater satisfaction climb up the heights overhanging the place, and look down on one side upon Gaza and Askalon, the country of the Philistines, and the blue dancing

Mediterranean, or eastward towards the dreary mountains, for here Abraham strove with his angel visitants on behalf of the ten righteous in the midst of a wicked city;—here, on the following morning, he saw the smoke of the cities of the plain go up like the smoke of a furnace.

Our faces must be turned, like the angel guests of the patriarch, towards Sodom; we leave the land of Canaan, and follow the herdsmen of Lot towards the well-watered plain of Jordan. As we proceed eastward, crossing the intervening valleys and ridges at one point, the embattled walls of Jerusalem come into sight; another moment they are lost, like a fairy vision; soon we enter the stern Wadi al Nar, or valley of fire, the continuation of the same valley of Jehoshaphat, which opens under Moriah, down which Kedron and Siloam pour their tribute to the Dead Sea. In the early ages of Christianity, hundreds of pious men, having sold all and given to the poor, retired hither to devote their lives to prayer and ascetic privations; the most distinguished was St. Sabha, whose name is still recorded by the convent, which is conspicuous in the valley. The privations of these worthy religionists must have been very great, as the holes which they occupied, and, with which the side of the rock is still pierced, are indeed receptacles only for foxes or wild beasts; hundreds of them perished on the occasion of the invasion and capture of Jerusalem by the Persians, and the practice expired under the Mohammedan rule. The great bell of the convent is almost the only sound heard, floating morning and evening over the dull dead waves of the accursed sea. It is a pleasing and yet a melancholy sight to attend service in the chapel of St. Sabha; old and white-bearded men carrying out day after day, night after night, the unbroken chant of Kyrie Eleëson in the wilderness, where St. John preached the coming of the Saviour, in the valley where hundreds lived and died devoted to his service, hard by the most ancient visible testimony of the wrath of an avenging God.

The due signs of this wrath are written in the bare verdureless mountain, in the riven chasms, in the desolate features of the landscape, in the motionless dreary expanse of water, which now opens upon us. No bird flies across that space, no fish people those depths, no boats skim the surface, there is no habitation of man or beast on its borders, no signs of the bounteous gifts of nature, no tokens of the laborious hand of man; yet it once was a pleasant and well-watered plain, when Lot turned his steps thither, when as yet brimstone and hailstones had not rained from heaven. At the head of the lake are the supposed sites of Sodom and Gomorrah; over against us, are

Zoar and the land of the Ammonites, and the Moabites, the incestuous offspring of Lot. We turn away, for the prospect falls heavy on our sight; and we gladly descend upon Jericho and the Jordan. This sacred stream has of late years been surveyed by an adventurous party from the United States, and to them we are indebted for the unravelling of the secret of the Dead Sea. There was the first boat, that successfully ploughed these waves—they were the first who traced the waters of the Jordan from their fountain-heads in Lebanon, until they lose themselves in this inland reservoir. Hard by the debouchement of the water is the spot, visited by pilgrims and travellers, and which is pronounced by the voice of tradition to be the place where the Israelites crossed, and St. John baptized; indeed, it is the only locality, where the banks slope down to the waters; and how many incidents of interest happened here! Here was the end of the long wanderings in the desert, of the longer captivity in Egypt; here, by a miracle, the waters were held up to enable the people to pass over into their heritage—hard by, at the sound of the trumpets of Joshua, crumbled the walls of Jericho; here David passed over in grief in his flight from rebellious Absalom, and again returned in triumph; here Elijah was taken up into heaven, and Elisha smote the waters, which separated to allow him to pass over; here Naaman the Syrian washed, and was clean. Pass over the interval of centuries, and the voice of one crying in the wilderness is heard, proclaiming the baptism of repentance and remission of sins. A cleansing of the ills of the soul is here commenced—here the Son of Mary was acknowledged from heaven to be the Son of God, and announced by his precursor as the Redeemer, that was predicted from the beginning of the world. Where the romance of the muddy Tiber, where the interest attached to the classic Ilissus, that can compete with the solemnity—the sanctity of the Jordan?—All has been changed, the destiny of the Jewish people has been worked out and accomplished, the city of the Jebusites has been captured, the temple has been built—has been restored—one religion has succeeded to the other—one dynasty has subverted its predecessor, but the Jordan still pours down its volume from Gennesareth to the Dead Sea, as rapid, as muddy, as when the now deserted valley rang to the shouts of the tribes, or re-echoed the solemn warnings of the Baptist.

Of Jericho little remains, but a ruined tower, and a few huts of the Arab cultivators; but the fountain of Elijah still gushes forth with sweetened waters, and as yet no marble has violated the verdant turf. In such a spot we look with jealousy on the hand of man, for above us is the range of the “quaran-

taine ;" the wilderness, into which the newly baptized Saviour was led up to be tempted :—in the early days of Christendom the spot was a resort of the Anchorites, but it is now a solitary waste, uninviting, untrodden by the steps of man. Thence we retrace our steps to Jerusalem, by a wild and mountainous road, over which life and property are, as in the days of the good Samaritan, insecure without the payment of the prescribed black mail to the Bedouins, who feed their cattle in the environs. Stop and glance at the circle of their black tents—the fine manly figures of these sons of Ishmael—the women ill-clothed, the children not clothed at all, but all busy in their encampment,—the she-camels with their young, the cattle, the sheep, and goats, scattered far over the hill-side amidst the flowery verdure ;—and some hitherto unappreciated charms of this kind of life suggest themselves,—the life of Abraham, when he emigrated from the country of the Chaldees—the life which was predicted for, and is realized by, the roaming descendants of Hagar. As we again approach Jerusalem, we pass by Bethany, which contains the residence of Martha and Mary ; and we descend into the deep and ancient cave-tomb, where Lazarus was laid : thence passing over the Mount of Olives, and coasting the Holy City, we take the road to Samaria. One elevated knoll, about five miles on the road, enables the pilgrim to take his last view of the dome of the sepulchre, and utter the deep heart-felt exclamation—" If I forget thee, O Jerusalem ! may my ' right hand forget its cunning ; yea, if I prefer not Jerusalem ' in my mirth !" and he then plods along the great road to Damascus. Jealous tradition, or topographical zeal, have not failed to note the villages, where Joseph and Mary missed their son on the return from the Passover, Bethel, or " Beit-alluh," where Jacob saw in his dream the angels descending and ascending, and received the promise of the land,—and Shiloh, where the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle abode previous to the building of the temple. We have now crossed the boundary of Judea, and entering Samaria, find ourselves in the village of Shechem, betwixt Ebal and Gerizim—a beautiful valley, rich with the olive, the vine, and the pomegranate, as when Jotham spoke the parable of the trees—as sweet to be dwelt upon, in recollection as when Joseph bequeathed his bones to be buried there in the parcel of land acquired by his father, Jacob—the eyes fall upon yellow lines of as abundant harvest, as when Jesus discoursed with the woman of Samaria, at the well of the Patriarch. We seem to hear in imagination the solemn voice of Joshua, the blessings and the curses floating in the air over

the assembled Israelites in Ebal and Gerizim. Here were the altars erected to Al Elohe Israel, ere Sion was chosen for his habitation, while Jerusalem was still in the hands of the Jebusites; that temple on Mount Gerizim, in which the Samaritans worshipped, has utterly perished—a heavier fate has befallen the rival Jerusalem—the time has come, when in neither place is the Father worshipped; still round the threshold of their fallen faith and greatness have clung, with a pertinacity and a good fortune which was denied to the Jews, some portions of the Samaritan people. Unchanged in their hatred to their rival sect, asserting to themselves the name of the “Sons of Israel,” they unfold with reverent hands the volume of the Pentateuch, said to be written by the grandson of Aaron; for them the history of the last three thousand years has been enacted in vain. The restoration from the captivity in Egypt to them is the realization of the promises of God. With them scripture history ends with the Pentateuch. Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, is the prophet to be raised up like unto Moses, who completed the restoration, and, like his ancestor Joseph, protected and saved the line of Abraham. They know, they expect no other Messiah; no mention is made of captivity in Assyria; but as regards Jerusalem and its far-famed temple, they are spoken of contemptuously as the result of the machinations and groundless claims of the tribe of Judah, and rebellious Benjamin, against the lawful rights of Ephraim, representing Joseph, the eldest son of Rachel, and inheritor of the birth-right of Jacob, forfeited by the incestuous Reuben. As to the dying prediction of Jacob, with reference to the greatness of Judah, they read Shiloh or Shelah to mean Solomon, and declare that on the death of that monarch, the sceptre was rent from Judah by Jeroboam, the Ephrathite, for they have no portion in David, or inheritance in the son of Jesse. To such arguments, meekly and deliberately delivered, no answer, can be made, for hearing such things in such a place, we exclaim—“Verily, it is the land of miracle.”

Passing along this beauteous valley, we exclaim that it is indeed a land flowing with milk and honey. Sebaste, the Ancient Samaria, though striking in position, and still reminding us of its ancient greatness, has little to arrest the traveller. Not so the grand view of the Mediterranean, the plain of Sharon, and the coast betwixt Joppa and Cæsarea, which burst upon the enchanted eye, when the highest ridge of Samaria is surmounted. A few hours, and we have turned the lofty spur of Carmel, have emerged from the mountains of Samaria, and stand at the edge of the great plain of Esdraelon or

Megiddo, in Galilee of the Gentiles. In those distant hills is Nazareth; and we are on the path so often trodden by the Saviour on the occasions of his going up to the feasts at Jerusalem: on our right is Carmel, and in the centre of the plains is Esdraelon, the ancient Jezreel: the palace of Ahab and the garden of Naboth have both perished, but are not forgotten. Over this plain Elijah ran before the chariot of Ahab. Our horses stop to quench their thirst at a stream—we learn that it is the ancient river, the River Kishon. Here then was the triumph of Deborah and Barak; here the tent of Jael; but it appears that these plains were destined to be renowned in all ages, and in all times, for here was fought one of the fiercest fights of the crusaders, and one of the earliest leaves of the victorious garland of Napoleon was plucked. If this plain is traversed upon a bright sunny day, the effect of the light and shade falling on the side of the mountains—the clouds reflected on the plain, or shrouding the height of Mount Tabor—the varying and rich colour of the crops—the distant snows of Lebanon and Hermon, present such a combination of interest and of the picturesque, as will not easily be effaced. But the beauties of Nature are forgotten, the memory ceases to ponder upon battles and victories, the transitory triumphs and unstable pride of men, as we enter the quiet and peaceful dell, and are told that yonder village is Nazareth. Can any good come out of Nazareth? Rather ask, as you look round, could anything evil ever have approached this quiet and retired spot, nestled in the hills? We look with interest at the sweet faces of the Nazarene damsels, if haply one could realize the ideal features of the most blessed among women; yet here, where Peace should have vindicated her undisturbed reign, where at least Christians might have followed the principles of their Master—here evil passions, fanned by religious fanaticism, have disgraced the church catholic in the eyes of the heathen and infidel: within the last year have the Protestant and Roman congregations been led into outrage towards each other, and, to their greater shame, have had recourse to Mohammedan tribunals: the painful sight might have been witnessed this year of ministers of Christ's religion pleading against, perhaps calumniating each other, before a follower of Mohammed, who drove them from the judgment seat, refusing, like the Proconsul Gallio, to be a judge of words, and names, and such matters.

At Nazareth a Protestant church has been planted, the youngest member of the Catholic body. It is an affecting exercise in such a place to share the prayers of these simple-minded



Christians : with their children and women they assemble in a large upper room, and read the Gospel in the language of their country with devoutness. It has been at no slight sacrifice of worldly comfort and reputation, that these worthy men, resembling the Apostles and early Christians in their act, as well as character and appearance, have come out from what they have conscientiously determined to be errors in the churches to which they belonged : they have heard<sup>d</sup> themselves formally excommunicated at the altar, where<sup>d</sup> they had previously knelt—their names have been written up as cast-aways and reprobates on the gates of that church, which they must never again visit—they have been debarred from those services which their religion and that of their persecutors alike prescribe—their dead are not allowed to rest in the consecrated spot, where their forefathers have gone before them. Until the interposition of the English representative at the Porte, they were subject to civil disqualifications and heavy oppression. Let a portion of that sympathy, which is felt for the early followers of the Saviour, be extended to those poor and lonely, but brave-hearted men, who have conscientiously taken up the Cross : and may the blessing of God be with them !

And it will surely be !—for the hills around have known the feet of those that bring good tidings—here angel messengers have saluted the most blessed among women, revealing mighty mysteries, and accomplishing things foretold from the beginning of the world—the spot is still shown, where the Word was made flesh. Over it is the Roman Catholic church, but the Greek church, with a perversity scarcely intelligible, maintains, that Gabriel met the blessed Virgin, as she was drawing water from the well outside the town, and conducts her pilgrims thither. This is the last of a long series of shrines and places sanctified by the greatness of the acts, traditionally stated to have been performed there. Many of them are painful instances of unprofitable credulity, or impious mendacity, which nothing but the degraded ignorance of the oriental churches could tolerate ; but there are in Judea some few spots, where events happened, such as have never happened elsewhere, over which the tradition of centuries, and the piety and faith of millions, have uninterruptedly watched,—in favour of which probability speaks loudly, and which the simple-minded Christian would wish to believe as true. There may not be such legal evidence as would convict a prisoner on his trial, or such mathematical accuracy as could deduce thence a geometrical problem, but there is sufficient for a faithful and humble believer to warrant him to kneel at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and on

Mount Calvary, to look with pious enthusiasm on Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives, and with wonderment, not unmixed with awe, at the ruin of cities once flourishing, and the desolation of plains once teeming with abundance.

Galilee is now before us, and Mount Tabor is in the centre of the plain, and from its verdant summit we can survey the kingdom of Israel. We are seated upon the throne, as it were, of Palestine, and the country is spread like a map at our feet, from the blue Mediterranean to the stern valley of the Jordan. The eye catches with rapture each object—now resting on the snowy front of the greater Hermon—now on the quiet waters of the lake of Gennesareth. There is the plain of Jezreel—hard by Endor recalls to our recollection the offences of Saul, and the dewless mountains of Gilboa, his punishment. Tradition, but unsupported by Scripture writ, assigns this spot as the scene of the transfiguration—it were a fit scene for so wondrous a drama, for Carmel on the right speaks of Elijah; and distant Nebo, on the left, of Moses; all around, of the Beloved Son, His ministry and His power—at our feet is Nazareth, and Cana, the scene of His first, the Sea of Tiberias, of His last miracle: crouching under the sides of little Hermon is Nain, where the son of the widow was raised, and hard by is Solam, where many centuries before the son of the Shunamite was raised by the hand of the Tishbite: along that plain, where the Arab and his oxen are faintly visible, like beetles on the face of the earth, how often, in his journeyings to and fro from ungrateful Nazareth to his own city of Capernaum, the Saviour must have passed with his disciples: further on there are thousands seated in the wilderness to be fed with food from heaven, or listening with strained eyes and fixed attention to the words, such as never man spake, on the Mount of the Beatitudes.

But the whole Bible history explains itself, and is rendered clear, as we are here seated. Tabor and Hermon attest the wonderful history of this hapless and devoted land. Its whole breadth, from the sea to the Jordan, is laid open to us, and we watch with awe the solemn procession of nations, which have uninterruptedly poured themselves down this narrow strip of beauty, the scene of one eternal struggle in all times and ages between Syria and Egypt, the inhabitants of the delta of the Nile, and the powers cradled in Central Asia. We hear of different races and names—of Assyria—of Babylon and Damascus—of Greeks, Persians, and Romans, at one time the phalanx of Alexander, at another the serried legions of Titus. As the battles of nations were to be fought here in the ancient world, so in later days were to be fought the battles of religions—

if on one side we could have seen from Mount Tabor the triumph of Bonaparte, on the other the heights of Huttin, the scene of the sermon of the mount, tell a sad tale of the last and final defeat of the crusaders. In late years the struggle betwixt Egypt and Asia has again commenced, and this devoted country has, but a few years back, been relieved of the miseries of foreign occupation and civil confusion. When and where will it end?

Our pilgrimage is now drawing to a close, and we stand on the banks of the Lake of Gennesareth—and looking into its smooth mirror, and upon the stern mountains which surround it, we rejoice to take our farewell of the Holy Land at this place, where all our remembrances are of a soothing nature, all our recollections are of peace. The thoughts naturally fly back to the many miracles that took place there—the destruction of the swine on the opposite headland—the stilling of the tempest—the Saviour walking on the waters—Peter sinking and upheld—the miraculous draught of fishes, as depicted in the cartoons of the greatest of painters. Divine Raphael, you seem to be with us every where, whether at the beautiful gate of the temple, or at the transfiguration on Mount Tabor—with the Roman Proctor at Cyprus, with the fishermen on the Sea of Galilee—kneeling with St. Peter to receive the keys at Cæsarea, or standing boldly with St. Paul on the Areopagus at Athens! Bethsaida and Chorazin have utterly perished—it has already been more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon, for though stricken, they still exist, the feet of men tread their streets, the voices of men pronounce their names, but Bethsaida and Chorazin, which saw the mighty works and believed them not, are forgotten—they are as Sodom and Gomorrah—the cities of the lower lake of the Jordan; and where are thou, Capernaum? Thy fishermen have indeed caught men—words spoken in thy houses, acts performed in thy streets, have echoed through the wide world; in a hundred languages, the wondrous works are told which thou sawest; but thou art not! The scenery of the lake is stern, and but for its associations, we should not find pleasure in it; but a poetry surrounds it far exceeding Loch Katrine, and a beauty which makes us forget Como. In one view, from the roof of the Roman Catholic chapel, we take in the whole scene, we people the shores with towns and villages, we see the fishermen toiling in their boats, the crowds are collected on the banks to hear his words, and derive advantage from His miracles, but He cometh not, for He is gone up to the Passover, and the heavy news is brought back from the feast, that He who spake as no man spake, to whose powers the devils

had been witness, has been crucified, and they shall see His face no more.

We turn away mournfully, and ascending the hill to Saphet, the city that is built on a hill, we take our farewell look of the Lake of Tiberias and the plains of Galilee: every mountain now raises a familiar head, we seem to know each village and trace the path of yesterday, and think with regret of the friends parted from at Nazareth: yes, friends, for with the gentle and sociable people of this country, kind words soon ripen friendship and their unpretending hospitality is open to all: with a simple dignity not unworthy of the patriarchs, the old man receives you as an angel, after the manner of Abraham; his knowledge of the surface of the globe is perhaps confined to Galilee, and the history of his country is contained in his Bible. No more shall we hereafter be received in this unpretending way—the Arab tent or the terraced roof will be our resting place no more—never again perhaps in our evening circle shall we recognize sweet winning faces, with manners free from the reserve of the West, or the social degradation of the further East, or hear little voices read in lisping accents from the sacred book how Jesus came walking on the waters of the lake that flow beneath our windows—no more tiny Miriams or Rachels to conduct us to some spot sanctified by tradition, and known to us by name from infancy, now for the first time seen in its reality. We seem waking from a pleasing dream—we begin to wonder at the blessing to us conceded, to have stood where we were but yester-even standing, and we take our last look of the mountains and the plains, as they fade away in the distance, with the feeling of one who watches a dying friend—we have much to inquire of those faithful testimonies of what they have seen done, since the days that their foundations were established—each dweller of those blessed fields seems one whom we might envy: but the road descends into a deep valley, and the last height of Palestine is lost, our pilgrimage is over; and perhaps in many an after day will the memory of it come back; as often as we open the sacred book, we shall be thankful for the opportunity granted to us, and gratefully admit, that it was good for us to be there.

The pilgrimage is indeed over—from Beersheba to Dan we have traversed the Land of the Promise—we have stood at the point where the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea—here is its source, on one of the green slopes of Lebanon, and through those double ranges and along the beauteous valley which they enclose, must be our course to the sea. We find ourselves amidst a hardy mountain people, confident in

themselves and their mountain recesses, differing in religion, but generally united against the stranger :—the line of hills, the villages, the soil, even the dress of the inhabitants, show but small distinctive signs ; but in these mountains we have specimens of every variety of religion which has agitated and disturbed the world. The Ansairée is said to worship the Devil, that primeval religion ; the Druse is an idolator, who worships he knows not what in high places, the remnant of the idolatrous tribe, who troubled Israel ; the Metawakee is a Mohammedan of the Shea sect ; the Maronite, an oriental church, subject to the Pope of Rome—these are the great sections, but interspersed are Jews, Mohammedans of the Súní persuasion, Greeks, Greek Catholics, and Protestants ; and on our road we shall pass the encampment of the Gipsies or Doods, and in these Syrian mountains will be surprised at being greeted in the vocabulary of India. The mountains are studded with churches and convents. It is pleasant in a Mohammedan country to hear at sunset the Ave Maria bell sounding in each hamlet, to see the picturesque crowd of women mixed with men entering their village places of worship : but follow them not, for the ritual is degraded, and the manner of it renders Christianity doubtful. The highest ridge of mountains is covered with snow, and in the adjoining villages are springing up modest houses, in which the merchant and missionary from Beyrout, and the invalid from India, take refuge in the summer. The mountains of Himalaya are more grand—the scale of nature is more exalted—the mountains of Switzerland are more romantic, and art has done more to render habitation agreeable, but neither have the blue Mediterranean washing their base, with such a breeze as would seem fit to bring back life to the dead, nor such a sky. On the Indian hills you would look in vain for the green rows of mulberries, and the luxuriance of the vine ; but it is sad to think that Lebanon has been robbed of the Cedar, once its glory. In one only spot, in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, are these patriarchs of the forest to be found, and a visit to them is one of the many delightful excursions of the Lebanon summer. It requires a certain degree of activity to reach the highest pass of Gebal Suneen, the loftiest point in Lebanon, but, when reached, it amply repays you. You have all the lower ranges at your feet, the quiet and sequestered valley lies exposed to your view, the mulberry-crowned hills, sloping gently from the clouds and the snow to the blue sea, crowned with sparkling villages and convents—here and there a deep gorge betrays the hidden course of a snow-fed torrent dashing down. As the eye becomes more accustomed to the scene, it follows the mountain paths along

the declivities—now up to some rude headland where Fancy sits gazing on the magnificent prospect, now down to some slender bridge spanning the foaming flood, which tears away to the sea, discolouring the waves for many a league with its purple waters, for the stream is the yearly wounded Thammuz. In these valleys, Venus wept her lost Adonis. On the eastern side of the range we delight again to see the glittering Hermon, and the range of Anti-Lebanon overhanging Damascus, but separated from us by the fertile valley of the Bekaa, along which we trace the River Beontes, like a silver line, until the eye rests with astonishment on the grandest of existing ruins, the temple of the Sun at Balbek. Time, earthquakes, and religious rage, have failed to destroy this wonderful and stupendous work. Christian churches have been erected from its materials—they have perished. Mosques and the tomb of the great Saladeen have been constructed in the same way, and have shared the same fate, but these ruins still raise their solemn front to heaven with much of their original grandeur. The granite uncouth columns must have been brought from Upper Egypt, across pathless Lebanon. The mechanical means for moving the vast stones, which form the platform, can only be guessed at, but a visit to the neighbouring quarries proves that, wonderful as was the performance, the genius of the builder was planning greater things, and stones were being hewed out, destined to surpass any of the existing wonders of Balbek.

We turn with awe from these memorials of the power, wealth, and genius of men in ancient days, and our sight falls upon a few green specks or shrubs far down below us on the side of the mountain. As we approach them through the snow, we find that they are the giant cedars—the last remnants of that family, which furnished timbers to the temple—the glory of the forest. Twelve venerable patriarch trees have stood the blasts of centuries, and we would willingly lend ourselves to the belief, that they are contemporary with those which were felled by Hiram. Some of them are forty feet in circumference, and they are surrounded by hundreds of their race, younger and more beautiful. Whatever be their age, the sight of these venerable trees is calculated to arouse the deepest emotions, and we forget the ruin of Balbek, the triumph of human skill, in contemplation of these, the work of God.

We have accompanied our reader on his pilgrimage—we have faintly described to him the charms of a sojourn of a few months in this enchanting land. Other countries may have raised their heads higher in the history of war and empire, more favoured climes have left us the legacy of breathing brass and living

marble—it is not here, that we must look for the triumphs of the orator, or track the starry mazes with the divining rod of the astronomer; but to this soil, we are indebted tangibly and visibly for higher and better things, for the germs, and for the triumphs of poetry, legislature, and history. What poems are lisped in earliest childhood, and murmured by failing lips, but the Psalms of the sweet songster of Israel? What law forms the basis of every code of guidance for human conduct? What history is entwined by a golden cord with our most secret thoughts and our earliest ideas? Reflecting upon this, let the pilgrim start with a devout and subdued spirit,—the Bible his best companion, and hand-book of the way,—let him remember that he is on the soil of miracles, and that it is an envied privilege for him to be *there*, if he believes any thing at all. On his road he will meet with men of all religions, nations, and kindred, and will derive instruction from all; he will hear subjects discussed calmly and clearly, which, in his own country, have been obscured by ignorance and bigotry—he will hear of ancient cities, known to him only in childhood's tales or dreaming fancy, spoken of as household words by those who have there lived, and there hope to die. Chance may throw him for days in company with some unknown yet eloquent stranger, whose words, pregnant with truth, and rich in associations, will have charmed away the mountain route in Judea, or lent a new zest to the beauties of Galilee.

Thus let him wander, and surely some blessing will be upon his track, some strengthening of faith by treading the very scenes of the great mysteries of our salvation, some enlarging of charity, by seeing how degraded poor human nature, whatever be the creed, can become. Thoughts will be suggested by the place, which might never have risen in the mind—thoughts of holiness: convictions may be strengthened, and attention drawn to subjects which the world had before shrouded from the view: the enthusiasm, the inspiration of the moment, will invest the doctrines of Christianity with a halo, which will last many a year: such recollections will, in after life, soothe the hour of grief. Such associations will ward off the fiends of despair and doubt, and bring peace at the last; and, if one link be added to the chain of his faith, one particle to the drachm of his charity, he will not have gone in vain; for a simple faith is better than riches, wealth and rank, and charity never faileth. Thus let him go, and if a single slumbering spark of kindred enthusiasm is ignited, not in vain have been worn the sandal shoon and scallop shell:—these pages have not been written in vain.

ART. II.—*Map of Calcutta, 1792-3.* By A. Upjohn.

THE rapid changes that are taking place in Calcutta, owing to the increasing European population, and to the facilities of intercourse afforded by steam,—the spread of English education and of English habits among natives,—together with the more extensive changes that are likely to occur, when railways may make Chauringi as the city of London is now, a residence for *keránis*, and mere offices for merchants,—suggest to us, that for the information of future residents, as well as for the pleasure derived from contrast,—it may be useful to jot down here, in a cursory way, the glimpses of the past that we have obtained, through old and rare books, as well as from conversation with the few that still remember the “days of auld lang syne.” There yet survive two residents in Calcutta, who remember Sir W. Jones and Warren Hastings, who have heard the tiger roar adjacent to the spot where now a noble cathedral and episcopal residence rear their heads, who remember the period when Chauringi was out of town, when shots were fired off in the evening to frighten away the dakaitis, and when servants attending their masters at dinner parties in Chauringi left all their good clothes behind them, lest they should be plundered in crossing the maidan—the Hounslow Heath of those days; and when the purlieus of China Bazar formed the aristocratic residences of the “big-wigs” of Calcutta—but these things have been.

Let not the City of Palaces, like another Babylon, be too proud, basking in the sunshine of prosperity: she may be hereafter as Delhi and Kanauj are now. Macaulay vividly depicts to us the supposed meditations of a New Zealander gazing, in some after ages, from a broken arch of London-bridge, on the ruins of the once mighty English metropolis. A similar fate may await Calcutta.

Calcutta is the sixth capital in succession which Bengal has had within the last six centuries. The shifting of the course of the river, which some apprehend will be the case in Calcutta, contributed to reduce *Gaur* to ruins, though it had flourished for 2,000 years, though its population exceeded a million, and its buildings surpassed in size and grandeur any which Calcutta can now boast of. *Rajmahal*, “the city of one hundred kings,” favourably located at the apex of the Gangetic Delta—*Dháká*, famed from Roman times—*Nuddea*, the Oxford of Bengal for five centuries—*Murshidabad*, the abode of Moslem pride and seat of Moslem revelry, (for a vivid painting of which, consult the pages of the *Seir Mutakherim*.)—These were in their days the transient



metropolitan cities of the Lower Provinces; but they have ceased to be the seats of Government and centres of wealth.

There have been other leading towns. *Malcondi*, on the west bank of the Hugli, is mentioned by one writer as the capital of Bengal, in 1632, and Rennel refers to the city of Bengala at the eastern mouth of the Ganges. Calcutta, "the commercial capital of Bengal," is *now* in the ascendant, though its political influence on India, happily for the welfare of the peasantry, is on the wane, and late events in the Panjab have given more of their due influence to the North West and to Mofussilite interests. A hundred and fifty years ago, Calcutta was like St. Petersburg, when Peter the Great laid his master-hand on it—the New Orleans of the East—a place of mists, alligators and wild boars, though now it has a population of 500,000, of which 100,000 come in and pass out daily. Were Job Charnock to rise from his lofty tomb in St. John's Churchyard, and survey the spot where once he smoked his hukka, and had "the black fellows" flogged during dinner to serve as his music, he would probably not be more surprised than would a denizen of Chauringi, who has never seen the rice grow, and is as much surprised at the sight of an Indian pig as at a shark, should he a century hence wake from the tomb and find Bombay the commercial port of India, Calcutta a town of the size of Patna, a residence only for those who are not able to enjoy the comfort of villas in the neighbourhood of Hugli, Pandua, &c. &c.

Opinions differ as to the etymology of the name Calcutta,—called Galgotha by an old Dutch traveller, (and not amiss in the days when one-fourth of its European inhabitants were cut off by the diseases arising in the rainy season.) We find that in Europe various cities received their names from the circumstance of monasteries and castles having been first erected on a spot which formed the nucleus of a town, as English words ending in *chester* (*castra*) show: in the middle ages this occurred very frequently. Now as tradition, existing rites, Puranic authority, &c., indicate that the Ganges formerly flowed over the site of Tolley's Nala, and as Káli Ghat, one of the holiest shrines in Bengal, has, from ancient times, been a place celebrated as one of the *pitha sthans*, why may not the name Calcutta be a corruption of Káli Ghaut? Holwell writes, in 1766:—"Káli Ghaut, an *ancient* pagoda, dedicated to Káli, stands close to a small brook, which is, by the Bramins, deemed to be the original course of the Ganges." When Job Charnock landed, on the 24th of August, 1690, fifty years after the first settlement of the English at Hugli, and smoked his pipe

probably under the shade of the famous old tree that stood at Baitakhana, Chauringi plain was a dense forest, the abode of bears and tigers : a few weavers' sheds stood where Chandpal Ghat is now : there was, consequently, no object of interest nearer than Káli Ghat. Is it not likely then that the old patriarch called the locality after the most conspicuous object—the same as the field of Waterloo is named from the largest village near it, and not from St. Jean, which is still nearer? We throw this out merely as a conjecture—*quantum valeat*.\* However, the author of *Sketches of Bengal* sides with us : he states “ Calicotta takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly.” Another derivation has been given from the Mahratta ditch or *Khál Khattá*, which served as its boundary ; before 1742, when this ditch was dug, we have not seen the name given.

The Dutch, French and Danes chose the right bank of the river, fully exposed to the river breezes, but the English selected the left : three reasons have been assigned, the deep water ran at the left side—numbers of weavers lived there, members of the patriarchal family of the Sets, who dealt with the Company,—and the Mahrattas never crossed the river. Job Charnock left Ulubaria on account of its unhealthiness, but he did not gain much by the change.

We shall, in the present article, limit our researches to one branch of the subject—the localities of Calcutta. Our remarks will be simply gleanings. Many causes render it very difficult to pierce into the darkness of the past. Natives themselves give little aid : they show no lively interest in antiquarian or historical research, as the *Records of the Asiatic* and other Societies evince ; but the maxim of Cicero holds good now as when penned—“ *Nescire quid antequam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.*”

We call our article “ Calcutta in the olden time ;” some may say how can you call a city of a century and a half, old? We have only to say,—Reader, such is the state of the British in India, so crowded has been the succession of important and stirring events, and so shifting have been the actors on the scene, that what would appear in England quite modern, bears here, as in the United States of America, the air of the antique, and we look back on our predecessors in Calcutta of last century with a similar interest to that with which a Bostonian reads the

\* Though allowed by the Mogul the choice of any site below Hugli, he selected, perhaps, the most unhealthy spot on the whole river : the Salt-water Lake to the east left masses of putrid fish in the dry season, while a dense jangal ran up to where Government House stands now.

*Wanderings of the Pilgrim Fathers*, or a Scotchman, *The Tales of Border Life*, and *The Adventures of Prince Charles*. Our descriptions are only *Fragments drifted from the Wreck of Time*.

A few books have survived the destruction which so certainly awaits old works in India, from apathy, frequent removals, or the climate: as of some of these, only one or two copies exist, and as they are not accessible to the generality of our readers, we shall occasionally make some extracts to illustrate various points in connection with Calcutta as it was in the last century. Though the books be *old*, the information may be *new* to many of our readers, and even to others may be useful in recalling their thoughts, in a busy and bustling age, to the dim visions of the past, the twilight of Calcutta history.

One of the earliest works that presents itself to our notice, is *The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*. The author was Philip Stanhope, an officer in the 1st regiment of dragoon guards; his pamphlet, containing 174 pages, was published in London in 1785; he came to India in 1774, the victim of disappointed love, the lady to whom he was attached not being allowed by her father to go to India. He touched at Madras, dined with the Governor, and mentions p. 38—"We retired soon after dinner, according to the custom of the country, to take our afternoon's nap, which the heat of the climate renders absolutely necessary for the refreshment of our bodies, which must necessarily be weakened by a continual perspiration."

In October of that year he arrived at Calcutta. It was the time when the *huka*, with its long pipe and rose-water, was in vogue:—

Even the writers, whose salary and perquisites scarce amount to two hundred pounds a year, contrive to be attended, wherever they go, by their *huka-burdaar*, or servant, whose duty it is to replenish the *huka* with the necessary ingredients, and to keep up the fire with his breath. But extravagant as the English are in their *huka*, their equipage, and their tables, yet all this is absolute parsimony, when compared to the expences of a seraglio: a luxury which only those can enjoy, whose rank in the service entitles them to a princely income, and whose *Haram*, like the state horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to Eastern grandeur.

He had been promised a situation by Warren Hastings, but failed, from the opposition given to all Hastings's recommendations by the new members of council:—

The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-Chief of the forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any emolument; and I must do those gentlemen the justice to observe, that, both in number and rapacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth.

He left Calcutta, after a few months' stay, for Madras, where

he spent three years in the service of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1778 he visited Bombay, where "the settlement not being divided by factions, there is more society than at Madras, and the sources of wealth being fewer, there is less of luxury and parade than at Calcutta." The same year he arrived in London.

In 1780 Mrs. Fay, the authoress of *Original Letters from India*, presented herself on the stage. She was one of the first who tried the overland route; she was made prisoner at Calicut by Hyder Ali, and was imprisoned there; she arrived in Calcutta, and mentions her visiting Mrs. Hastings at Belvidere House, "a great distance from Calcutta." Her husband was a barrister, but joining himself to the party of Francis against Hastings, and uniting with others in resisting a proposed house-tax, he was obliged, through want of briefs, to leave Calcutta in debt, his wife being deprived by the creditors of every thing except her clothes. She separated from her husband, and found refuge in the house of Sir R. Chambers, noted for his "immense library." After twelve months' residence, she left Calcutta for England in May, 1782, and arrived in England in February, 1783, experiencing the discomfort of hard-drinking gentlemen on board, with a "large gun" in the port-hole of her cabin. She returned, however, to Calcutta, in 1784, and engaged in the millinery line—she failed, returned to England, but made another voyage to Calcutta.

We have lately met with a work called *Hartley House, Calcutta*, printed in London, 1789, which, under the guise of fiction, paints the manners and customs of Calcutta as they existed in Warren Hastings's days, when Calcutta was "the grave of thousands, but a mine of inexhaustible wealth." The general *vraisemblance* of them is confirmed by an Octogenarian still living. We shall quote occasionally from this book.

A book called the *East Indian Chronologist*, published in 1801, by a Mr. Hawksworth, throws much light on various occurrences: it is a compilation of facts relating to British connection with India, gathered from sources which are now destroyed by white-ants and damp: the facts are arranged in chronological order, and present, in 100 pages quarto, an assemblage of many rare subjects.

A work was published in Calcutta called *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, which gives the fullest notice we have seen of the early establishment of the English in India, a particular account of the Black Hole, the re-taking of Calcutta, the history of St. John's Church, the Old Church, Kiernander's mission, the Portuguese of Calcutta, the Armenians of Calcutta.

Old Zaphania Holwell, who rose, from being an apothecary, to the governorship of Calcutta, published, in 1784, the third edition of a curious and interesting work, *India Tracts*, which, besides giving various details respecting our progress to power after the battle of Plassey, presents us with a minute account of the sufferings in the Black Hole. He was zemindar of Calcutta for some time, and in this work gives a graphic picture of the cheating and over-reaching of the native servants of Government of that day. Holwell was born in Dublin, 1711, and like other survivors of the Black Hole, he lived to a green old age : he died in 1798.

Upjohn, an ingenious artist, published a *map of Calcutta* in 1793 : he died in 1800—this map is very valuable, as affording a contrast with Calcutta at the present time, and thus indicating the immense additions since made in buildings and streets.

*Mrs. Kindersley's letters* throw light on different points in Calcutta life about 1770. Grose wrote his *Travels to the East Indies* about 1750—4. *Grandpre*, a French officer, visited Calcutta towards the close of last century, and has written an interesting account of his travels.

The Surveyor General's office possesses the original survey made by *General Martin* in 1760 : no road to Budge-Budge is marked off. Akra is not mentioned, nor Diamond Harbour ; there was no road to Diamond Harbour,—the Rupnarayan is called the old Ganges,—the Salt Lake was marked off as frequented by wild buffaloes.

Stavorinus, a Dutch admiral, visited India in 1768. An account is given of his travels in the East, in a work of three volumes. We have some lively sketches of the times in Calcutta. He and the Dutch Governor of Hugli went to a formal dinner to Government-house at half past 12 P. M.—Visits of ceremony were then paid at 9 A. M. Seventy covers were laid, and the service was entirely of plate ; after dinner, the huka was served to each person, and after smoking half an hour, they retired to their respective dwellings. At six in the evening they rode to Governor Cartier's country-seat at Belvidere, where they supped. The next morning, at *nine* o'clock, the English Governor paid a ceremonial visit to the Dutch Governor—that seems to have been a fashionable hour for calls, probably, to avoid the mid-day heats ; on the installation at that period of a new Dutch Governor of Chinsura, there was a public breakfast given at *seven*, and the ceremony took place at 9 : it was in the month of March.

The principle of the association of ideas has a strong hold over the mind : man wishes to connect the present with the past :—

it is pleasing for a stranger, when traversing the streets of a city, to be able to observe the places identified with various events in the days of yore. We have *The Traditions of Edinburgh*, *The Recollections of London*, why should we not have a pamphlet to put into the hands of strangers, to be called "*An Antiquarian Ramble through Calcutta?*" Some of our pleasantest hours have been spent in this pursuit in Calcutta, in endeavouring to "conjure up the ghosts of departed days." We shall now jot down some of our gleanings collected from books and conversation; some of these facts, though apparently trivial, have cost us considerable search—But all bear, more or less, on the point of Calcutta, as it *was* in respect of its *localities*.

We shall begin with Kidderpur, then proceed to Chauringi, thence to Tank Square and its neighbourhood, then to Chitpur, and conclude with the Circular Road; noticing, as we go along, those places which call up associations of the past, the dim vision of the years that are no more, which remind us of the thoughts and actions of the buried generations of English who figured on the stage of events in Calcutta during last century.

*Kidderpur* is approached from the plain, by Hastings' bridge. Not far from Hastings' bridge was another of brick, called Surman's, after a Mr. Surman, a member of council—he was a member of the embassy to Delhi in 1717—his residence was, probably, to the south of it, in a place called Surman's Gardens, which will be ever memorable as the spot where the Governor and his party stopped, when they cowardly and treacherously deserted the Fort in 1757: this led to the catastrophe of the Black Hole. Immediately to the south of these gardens, was the boundary of Govindpur, the limit of the Company's colony of Calcutta, marked by a pyramid. • Close by were situated *Watson's Docks*, so called from a Colonel Watson, the chief engineer, who built the *first* ships in Calcutta in 1781: an enterprising man, he obtained a grant from Government of the land for the purpose of making docks, on which he spent ten lakhs. Near those docks the Colonel erected a wind-mill; but as it commanded a view of a native's zenanah, the native went to law and obtained a decree that the wind-mill should be pulled down! This was a suit of wind-mill *versus* nuisances. Previous to this, two vessels were launched, in 1769 and 1770, but Calcutta had, heretofore, been dependant on Surat, Bombay and Pegu for its ships. However, famine gave an impulse to ship-building! Good out of evil—the ravages caused by Hydar in the Carnatic, in 1780, roused the Government to a sense of the importance of the shipping interest: they could not supply ships in sufficient numbers to convey food to the famished population of the South. Bombay had docks in 1735, but *Kidderpur*,

not for sixty years later, which Waddel made in 1795. Trade advanced: between 1781 and 1800, thirty-five vessels, measuring 17,020 tons, were built: from 1781 to 1821, the total was 237, which cost more than two millions sterling: this trade of ship-building is not, however, so brisk now. It was not, however, confined to Calcutta, as at Fort Gloucester, between 1811 and 1828, twenty-seven vessels, measuring 9,322 tons, were built, and as early as 1801, a vessel of 1,445 tons, the *Countess of Sutherland*, was built at Titighur, near Barrakpur: the river has so shallowed since, that, probably, the experiment could not be tried now.

To the North of Hastings' bridge lies *Kuli (Coolie) bazar*, once occupied, like many other places, by a handsome Musalman burial-ground, but which was pulled down to erect the present buildings. On a platform erected to the south-west of it, Nandakumar, once Dewan to the Nawab of Murshidabad, was executed, August 5th, 1775—the first brahman hanged by the English in India: his death excited as great a revulsion of feeling among natives as did the execution of Louis XVI. among the French royalists. The foremost among the Mahapatak, crimes of the highest degree, or mortal sins of the Hindus, is killing a brahman—the other four are stealing gold from a priest, adultery with the wife of a guru, drinking spirits, and associating with persons who have committed any of those offences. Immediately after the execution, the Hindus rushed to the river to wash away the offence committed in seeing it, by bathing in Ganges water. During three days they ate nothing; and, subsequently, the excitement was very great; menaces were held out to the judges that if they proceeded to court, their lives would be sacrificed as victims to popular fury; but regardless of menaces, they marched in procession to the Supreme Court, attended by all the paraphernalia of justice, and the threats of the Hindus were as effective as those of the Calcutta Babus, on the passing of the *Lex Loci Act*. There is a native still living in Calcutta, whose father told him, that on that day the Hindus went to the other side of the river to eat, considering Calcutta to have been polluted by the execution of a brahman.\*

The *Diamond Harbour Road* terminates at Kidderpur: from Kidderpur to Bursea it was lined with trees: this road extends thirty-nine miles, to Diamond Harbour, while the river route is fifty-six miles: it must have been an immense convenience in former days for speedy traffic, when cargo boats, from March to September, occupied from five to seven days in taking goods

\* In the *Memorial of Sir E. Impey*, by his son, a different statement is given; but parties on the spot can give a more correct opinion.

from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, or when a ship has been three weeks beating up to Calcutta from Diamond Harbour: the splendid old tanks near Diamond Harbour show the traffic that existed. Stavorinus, in 1768, gives the name of the village of Dover to Diamond Harbour, "where the English have ' built some ware-houses, and a factory much frequented by ' ships: close to it is a channel called the Shrimp Channel." There is no mention of the Diamond Harbour road in Upjohn's map of 1794, though there existed the Budge-Budge high road to Calcutta in 1757. Two miles south of Kidderpur is *Manikchand's Bhagan*. Holwell writes of it—"The family of the Rajah ' of Burdwan farmed lands to the amount of four lakhs, contiguous ' to the bounds of Calcutta, and had a palace at Byala: the fort ' of Budge-Budge, on the Ganges, was ' also their property." This *Bhagan* was once the residence of Manikchand, a Hindu, who was appointed Governor of Calcutta, when the English were expelled from it. During his incumbency he was noted for his rapacity, for though 50,000 of the Hindus returned to their dwellings in Calcutta after Suraj Daula left, yet no man of property would trust himself under Manikchand. Bengali like, he did not present an example of much courage; he ran away from Budge-Budge, when the English attacked it, a ball striking his turban having put him to flight, and he never stopped till he reached Murshidabad. Ali Verdy Khan, who appointed him to this office, found him so treacherous and cowardly, that he trusted the Patans chiefly on active service. The Musalman promoted the Bengalis to high office, but on the principle that they became excellent sponges which he could squeeze when he liked. On Ali Verdy's memorable retreat from Burdwan, 18,000 Bengali troops ran away.

*Kidderpur* was called after Colonel Kyd, an enterprising European, the Chief Engineer on the Company's Military establishment; his two East Indian sons were the famous ship-builders, and in 1818, launched from the dock there the *Hastings*, a seventy-four gun ship, which lately anchored at Sagar. He, with Bowley, Skinner and others, has shown what genius could effect in spite of the depressing influence of European caste, and the feeling which in Calcutta formerly regarded East Indians as a kind of *pariahs*.\*

\* *East Indians*, alias Eurasians, alias country-borns, were a class that excited great alarm in the last century, some writers conjecturing that they would, like the Americans, combine with the natives and drive the English from Calcutta. Hence various projects were entertained for neutralising their influence. There was only one Boarding School in Calcutta, chiefly for East Indians, in 1780, and the females of their class were fonder of the huka than of letters: they loved the theatre, dressing magnificently, and "affording by their sparkling eyes a marked contrast with the paleness and languor of the European ladies."



To the East of Kidderpur lie the *Calcutta militia lines*; the soldiers are all natives, certainly not on the original plan of the militia; for in the earlier days, every European was expected to be a militia man, the same as every passenger in an Indian man was trained to take part in the defence of the ship. In 1759 the Europeans of Calcutta were all enrolled in the militia to garrison Calcutta, which enabled the Company to send the soldiers into the field against the Dutch, who came up the Hugli with a strong force; again, in 1763, all the regulars were sent away from Calcutta, the militia garrisoning it: however, a body of free merchants and free mariners, not content with standing on the defensive, took the field and marched to Patna. In 1801 there was a European as well as a Portuguese and Armenian militia.

The road from Kidderpur to Bursea, in last century, presented a picturesque appearance, being planted with shady trees on both sides—a fine old practice.

The *Kidderpur Military Orphan School* was established in 1783, by Major Kilpatrick, and was located at first at Haura, but about 1790, the present premises were taken. The front room of this building, the ball room, calls to mind the state of society in former days, when European ladies were afraid to face the climate of India—even Lord Teignmouth's lady refused to go out to India with her husband: in consequence, Kidderpur was a harbour of refuge, where men in want of wives made their selection in an evening, at balls given expressly for that purpose, travelling often a distance of 500 miles down the country to attain that object. But *tempora mutantur*.

*Garden Reach* is one of the oldest places of residence "out of town," and is mentioned in a map drawn up by General Martine, in 1760, as containing fifteen residences: but these were only fine bungalows. Previous to the battle of Plassey, the English were cooped up in the neighbourhood of the old Fort, enjoying the evening air in the Respondentia walk, lying beyond Chandpal Ghat, or in the fish-pond near Laldigi—beyond, there was too wholesome a dread of thieves and tigers, to induce them to wander into the grounds of the neighbouring zemindars, who were the Robin Hoods of those days. But when peace and security dawned, it is to the taste of the Ditchers, they preferred garden-houses, ornamented occasionally with statuary, which were their favourite abodes during the hot weather. Mrs. Fay writes in November—"My time has passed 'very stupidly (in Calcutta) for some months, but the town is 'now beginning to fill—people are returning for the cold season"—doubtless, from their country villas. We find that Warren Hastings had a place of this description at Sukh Sagar; and

another Governor, Cartier, one in 1763 at Baraset. The retirement of the garden, and the boating parties on the river, "the oars beating time to the notes of the clarionet," formed more the objects of relaxation then than now. "Kittysol-boys, in the act of suspending their kittesans, which were finely ornamented, over their heads—which boys were dressed in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in England, with white turbans bound by the same colored ribband—the rowers, resting on their oars in a similar uniform—made a most picturesque appearance."

Sir W. Jones lived in a bungalow in Garden Reach, nearly opposite to the Bishop's College—we have not been able to ascertain the site: here, shunning Calcutta and its general society, he indulged in his oriental studies; and in the morning, as the first streak of dawn appeared on the horizon, he walked up to his lodgings in the Court House, where he occupied the middle and upper rooms. He must have travelled *viâ* Kidderpur, as there was then no direct road from Garden Reach to Calcutta.

At the bottom of Garden Reach is *Akra*, marked off in Martine's map of 1760, with salt moulds; after that it was used as a powder dépôt, and subsequently as a race-course. A little south of Kidderpur bridge, near the old Garden Beech, is *Bhu Khailās*, founded by the late Joy Narayan Ghosal: two of the largest *lingas* in India are to be seen in two Sivite temples here, which were erected in the last century.

*Alipur* seems to be a Musalman name, and of the same signification as *Alinagur* (the city of Ali), which Suraj Daula, after the Moslem fashion of altering native names, gave to Calcutta, on its conquest in 1757.

Nearly opposite Alipur bridge stood *two trees*, called "the trees of destruction," notorious for the duels fought under their shade: here Hastings and Francis exchanged shots, in the days when European women were few. Had Hastings fallen in that duel, the stability of British power in India might have been shaken, with such a Phæton as Francis guiding the chariot of the state. Jealousy often gave rise to these "affairs of honour."

Facing Alipur bridge is *Belvidere*, once the favorite residence of Warren Hastings, but latterly he erected another house further south—he is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood, and we think it probable, considering the state of other places at that time: as late as 1769, Stavorinus writes of the country in the vicinity of Chagda:—"Having many woods, in which there are tigers, we soon met with their traces in

‘plenty.’ Lord Valentia states, that the Company gave in premiums for killing tigers and leopards, in Kasimbazar island, up to 1801, Rs. 150,000. Mrs. Fay describes Belvidere in 1780 :

The house is a perfect *bijou*; most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display; but still deficient in that simple elegance which the wealthy so seldom attain, from the circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those but moderately rich find to be indispensable. The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out.

Stavorinus mentions visiting Belvidere in 1768, when the then Governor of Bengal resided there; it may have probably served as Barrackpore does now, as the country residence of the Governors for the time being.

The *General Hospital* reared its head, as early as 1768, over the then solitary Chauringi, “far from the city;” previous to 1768, it was the garden-house of an individual, and was purchased by Government.\*

To the north of Alipur flows *Tolly’s Nala*, called after Colonel Tolly, who also gave his name to *Tollyganj*; he excavated a portion of it in 1775—the old name given to it was the Govindpur-creek, being the southern boundary of Govindpur, which was formerly the chief residence of the natives, the *Sets*, who, along with the Baysaks, constituted the oldest Hindu families of Calcutta; they lived in the neighbourhood of the old pagoda and on the site of Fort William, the whole district being called Govindpur—a name derived from a deity called Govinda. Colonel Tolly made the *nala* at his own expense, in the bed of what was called *Surman’s Nala*. Government granted him the tolls on it, exclusively, for twelve years, and it soon yielded a net profit of 4,300 Rs. monthly. The Colonel died soon after its completion. This canal, in the course of thirty years, up to 1820, had silted up six feet—its native name

\* Hamilton, in 1709, mentions a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, which “many go into and undergo the penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation.” In these days doctors were not well qualified or well paid. *Ex uno omnes discit*: an anecdote is mentioned of one of the Governors of Bombay, who, wishing to gain the favour of his Honorable Masters in England, by retrenchment, found the Surgeon’s pay to be forty-two rupees monthly, on which he said there must be some mistake, that the figures were transposed, and so saying, with one stroke of his pen he wrote twenty-four instead of forty-two! However, in Calcutta, there was a difference. Thus in 1780—“Physic, as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors, to work it at will.—The medical gentlemen at Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a gold-mohur from each patient, for every common attendance—extras are enormous.”

A disease called “*a pucha fever*” was prevalent in Calcutta last century, probably owing to the mass of jungle which extended in every direction, and the fetid jils. Mrs. Kindersley writes of it as “the illness of which most persons die in Calcutta; it frequently carries off persons in a few hours—the doctors esteem it the highest degree of putridity.”

is *Burhi Gungá*.\* On its banks is Káli Ghat Temple, built about sixty years ago by one of the Sabarna Chaudaris of Barsi Byealá.

We next proceed to *Chauringi*. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, describes the European houses "as built so irregular, that it 'looks as if the houses had been thrown up in the air, and fallen 'down again by accident as they now stand.'" The people of Calcutta in fact preferred, like the Madras people, garden-houses, where they could enjoy some privacy. The town was considered unhealthy and hot, and Chauringi was chosen for a garden retreat, as people now select Kasipur and Titighur, and as they will, ere long, on the opening of the rail-road, choose the neighbourhood of Bandel. How times change! The Sunderbunds were healthy and populous places, eighty years before Charnock founded Calcutta, were then the site of flourishing cities, but are now the abodes of the rhinoceros and the tiger.

*Chauringi* (Chowringee) is a place of quite modern erection. Be not surprised, reader, it originated from "the rage for *country* houses," with their shade and flowers, which prevailed equally at Bombay and Madras, at the beginning of this century—but how *country* houses? Why, Chauringi was then out of town, and even palki bearers charged double fare for going to it; while at night, servants returned from it in parties, having left their good clothes behind through fear of *dakait*s, which infested the outskirts of Chauringi! There is a lady still living, who recollects when there were only two houses in Chauringi—one Sir E. Impey's, the very house now occupied as the nunnery, a third story only being added. On the site of the nunnery church was a tank, called the *Gol talao*; the surrounding quarter was Sir E. Impey's park, which stretched to Chauringi-road on the west and to Park-street on the north, an avenue of trees leading through what is now Middleton-street into Park-street from his house; it was surrounded by a fine wall, a large tank was in front, and plenty of room for a deer park, a guard of sipahis was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, occasionally firing off their

\* Our readers may deem it incredible, but we have a firm conviction, that the Ganges itself, which now flows by Bishop's College, once took its course on the site of Tolly's Nala. With the natives, to the south of Calcutta, Tollygunj is a sacred place for cremation, and so is Baripur, where there is now not a drop of water, because they believe the stream of the Ganges rolled there once: the traveller never sees any funeral pyres smoking near the Hughli south of Calcutta, as the natives have a notion that this is a *Khátá Gangá*, or a modern channel—the ancient channel, and not merely the water, is accounted sacred by them. Geological observations confirm this. In the borings made at Kidderpur in 1822, it was found, there were no vegetable remains or trees, hence there must have been a river or large body of water there.

muskets to keep off the *dakaitis*. The other house was the present St. Paul's school. Chauringi houses increased towards the close of the last century. Upjohn, in 1794, places twenty-four houses in Chauringi, between Dharamatala and Brijitalao, the Circular-road and the plain. Lord Cornwallis in his day remarked that one-third of the Company's territories was a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts, and in Chauringi the few houses were scattered over a great extent of ground. Let those who are warm friends to the centralising system of Calcutta, and who look on the Chauringi palaces as ever enduring, reflect a little on the past—to conjecture what the future *may* be. Surat, three centuries ago, had a population of half a million, now its grass-grown streets and tomb-covered squares show the desolating hand of time. Sagar island, now the abode of the tiger and the snake, contained two years previous to the foundation of Calcutta a population of 200,000, which, in one night, in 1688, was swept away by an inundation.

*Park-street*, so called because it led to Sir E. Impey's park, is mentioned in Upjohn's map of Calcutta, 1794, by the name of Burial-ground road. Being *out of town* last century, it was the route for burials from town (*i. e.*, the part north of Tank Square) to the Circular-road burial ground; hence it was dreaded as a residence. "All funeral processions are concealed as much as possible from the sight of the ladies, that the vivacity of their tempers may not be wounded,"—death and dancing did not harmonise together. We find in the *India Gazette* of 1788 a notice from T. Maudesely, undertaker, advertising for work, "having regularly followed that profession in England." He states, that on account of the great distance of the burial-ground, he has built a hearse, and is fitting up a mourning-coach;—previous to that, what a gloomy scene in Park-street; a funeral procession continuing one hour or more. The coffins, covered with a rich black velvet Pall, were carried on men's shoulders, and the European Pall Bearers arranged a little before they came to the ground.

*Chauringi-road* is spoken of by Holwell in 1752, as "the road leading to Collegot (Kali Ghat), and Dee Calcutta,"—a market was held in it at that time.

In a house in *Wood-street*, occupied lately by the eye infirm, Colonel Stewart lived, surnamed Hindu Stewart, from his conformity to idolatrous customs, &c.,—he was one of that class, now almost passed away, who looked with equal regard on the worship of Christ and Krishna.

At the corner of Park-street is the *Asiatic Society's house*,

built on a piece of ground granted by Government; it had been previously occupied as a *manége*, and was favourably located for that purpose. The Society was founded January 15, 1784—the same year which gave Calcutta the first church erected by the public since the battle of Plassey : religion and literature thus went together.

The *Course*, so called, as being a coss or two miles in length, is described in 1768, as being “out of town in a sort of angle, ‘made to take the air in,” though an old song states that those who frequented it, “swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one ‘of fresh air.” Hamilton makes no mention of it in 1709 : the recreation then was “in chaises or by palankins, in the ‘fields or to gardens.” Boating and fishing seem to have been favourite amusements. Certainly those who took their evening sail in a pinnace enjoyed more exercise than the modern lollers in a carriage in the *Course*.

Of the *Race Course* mention is made in 1780, though the present one was commenced in 1819. There was formerly an old Race Course at Akra, but “Lord Wellesley, during his administration, set his face decidedly against horse-racing and every ‘other species of gambling :” his influence threw a damp on it for many years, though last century a high value was attached to English jockeys, and the races were favourite subjects of expectation with the ladies. With the amusement of the turf came the spirit of betting.

*Dharmatala* was formerly called the *avenue*, as it led from town to the Salt-water Lake and the adjacent country. Last century it was a “well-raised causeway, raised by deepening the ‘ditch on either side,” with wretched huts on the south side ; while on the north a creek ran through a street, still called Creek-Row, through the Wellington Square Tank, down to Chandpal Ghat. Large boats could come up it—if it had been kept clear and had been widened, it might have been very useful for the drainage, as Colonel Forbes, in his memoranda to the Municipal Commissioners in 1835, recommended the digging a similar creek in that direction. The road was, according to an old useful Hindu practice, shaded with trees on both sides, as we find was the practice in other parts at that period. *Dharmatala* is so called from a great mosque, since pulled down, which was on the site of Cook’s stables ; the ground belonged, with all the neighbouring land, to Jáfir, the jamadar of Warren Hastings, a zealous Musalman. The *Karbelá*, a famous Musalman assemblage of tens of thousands of people, which now meets in the Circular-road, used then to congregate there, and by its local sanctity, gave the name to the street of the *Dharmatala* or *Holy street*.

The *bazar*, about half way between Wellington Square and Government House, occupies the site of the residence of Colonel De Glass, superintendent of the gun manufactory, which has since been removed to Kasipur. David Brown, the eminent minister of the Mission Church, subsequently occupied the building, which had a large compound. He kept a Boarding School, and had among his pupils Sir R. Grant, late Governor of Bombay, and Lord Glenelg.

*Wellington Square Tank* was excavated in 1822, it was one of the good works of the Lottery Committee; its site was formerly occupied by wretched huts inhabited by lascars, who made the place a mass of filth and dirt. The banks have several times fallen in, owing to the old creek called Channel Creek having formerly run through it.

The *Native Hospital* owes its origin to the suggestion of the Rev. John Owen, a chaplain; the plan was proposed in 1793, when the Marquis Cornwallis granted it 600 Rs. per month; the private subscriptions amounted to 54,000 Rs. Lord Cornwallis gave 3,000 Rs., each Member of Council 4,500 Rs., the Nawab Vizier gave 3,000 Rs. It was established at first in the Chitpur-road, and opened September the 1st, 1794; but in 1798 the managers purchased ground in "the open and airy road of Dharmatala". At that time there were only three or four houses in the street.\* During the last century disease must have made fearful ravages among the natives. Small Pox was a dreadful scourge; "inoculation is much practised by the natives, but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally, mixed with some liquid." Adjoining the Dharmatala is the *Free School*, on the site of a house which was occupied by Mr. Justice Le Maitre, one of the judges in Impey's time. The Free School was engrafted on the Old Charity School, founded in 1742, and settled "at the garden-house near the Jaun Bazar, 1795." The purchase and repair of the premises cost 56,800 Rs.

\* Calcutta, in former days, had justly an ill name for its insalubrity, "the grave-yard of Europeans"—but the Doctors also were in fault, as Dr. Goodeve, in his able paper "On the Progress of European Medicine in the East" shows, when all agreed that "as the strength must be supported in dysentery, wine and solid animal food were the most appropriate diet." Patients were ordered in these cases, "pillaos, curries, grilled fowls and peppered chicken *ad libitum*, with a glass of two of medicine, or a little brandy and water, and a dessert of ripe fruits." Native doctors had their hot and cold remedies for hot and cold diseases, their mantras and philtres, while Lind states that the Portuguese doctors prescribed as the grand cure, "the changing all the European blood in their patients' bodies into native's. This they endeavoured to accomplish by repeated venesections, till they conceived that the whole mass of this circulating fluid had been abstracted. And then, by a diet consisting exclusively of the productions of the country, they hoped to substitute a liquid entirely Indian, which would render their patients proof against the maladies under which they had previously laboured."

On the proposal for forming the Free School, the public at once subscribed 26,082 Rs. and Earl Cornwallis gave 2,000 Rs. It is the oldest educational institution in Calcutta, it is said that its funds arose chiefly from the interest of the restitution money granted by the Musalmans for pulling down the Old Church near the Writers' Buildings in 1756.

*Cossitala*, leading from Dharmatala into Old Calcutta, was named after the *Kasái* or butchers, dealers in goats' and cows' flesh, who formerly occupied it as their quarter. It must therefore have been formerly a hateful street for Hindus to pass on their way from Chitpur to Kali Ghat, as seventy years ago Hindus would not sell an ox when they knew it was designed for slaughter. Like Government House, it was then "in the suburbs of Calcutta;" this may account for the late C. Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, having taken up his residence in Grant's Lane, which received its name from this circumstance. He afterwards built a handsome house, opposite Lord Clive's, where he resided several years before he left India. In 1757 Cossitala was a mass of jangal, and even as late as 1780, it was almost impassable from mud in the rains. In Upjohn's map only two or three houses are marked in it, so that Mr. Grant might enjoy his *rus in urbe* in the neighbourhood of his favorite *Lal Ginja*. In 1788 a Mr. Mackinnon advertises for a school to be opened to contain 140 pupils.

*Lal Bazar* is mentioned by Holwell, in 1738, as a famous bazar. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, states it to be the best street in Calcutta, "full of little shabby looking shops called *Boutiques* kept by black people," it then stretched from the Custom House to Baitakhana. Bolst mentions a case of a Governor-General, about 1770, who, finding that Europeans there retailed "paria arrack to the great debauchery of the soldiers," sent a guard of sipahis and gave them lodgings for several days in the dungeon of the new fort. Sir W. Jones, in 1788, refers to the nuisance there of low taverns, kept by Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese. In the house west of the Police Office, were formerly placed *hamam* or warm-baths. It is singular that in the metropolis of an oriental country, no encouragement has been given to these speculations, while every Overland traveller can testify to the beneficial effects of the Cairo hot-baths, and even the mechanics of London now avail themselves of tepid baths. Facing this, on the opposite side of the street, stood an old play-house. The *Police Office* formed the residence of John Palmer, one of the "merchant princes" of Calcutta. His father was secretary to Warren Hastings; when a youth he was a prisoner of war in France, where he



was treated most kindly by La Fitte, the famous banker, who instructed him in commercial subjects. He came in 1789 to Calcutta, where he established himself in business, which he conducted on a most extensive scale : he had for his first partner Henry St. George Tucker, who was afterward in the Civil Service, and subsequently Chairman of the Court of Directors. Palmer was called the prince of British merchants, and was equally renowned for his princely generosity. He died in 1836. On the opposite side of the street, stood the *Old Jail* of Calcutta, which also served as the Tyburn of Calcutta, all the executions taking place in the cross road near it ; the pillory was erected also on that spot. There is a man still living in Calcutta who underwent the punishment of the pillory there. The Calcutta papers of 1800 give us an account of one Brajamohun Dut, a watch-maker, having been hanged there for *stealing a watch privately from a dwelling-house*. The same period has witnessed five Europeans hanged there together. At the siege of Calcutta, in 1757, it served like another Hougomont, as a point of defence.

Calcutta, in early days, in 1780, had French and English confectioners. Opposite the Old Jail in Lal Bazar, was the famous *Harmonicon Tavern*, now the Sailor's Home ; it was the handsomest house then in Calcutta and proved a great comfort to the poor people in Jail, to whom supplies of food were frequently sent from thence. It was founded in the days when strangers considered that " every house was a paradise and every 'host an angel,' where young men stayed as long as they liked ; but this system began to give way to that of hotels about 1823. Mrs. Fay writes of it in 1780 :—

I felt far more gratified some time ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonic, which was supported by a select number of gentlemen, who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball, and supper, during the cold season ; I believe once a fortnight.

We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C —, who is a capital performer on the harpsichord, played, amongst other pieces, a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style.

Mr. Hastings attended this party. The Harmonicon Society, previous to 1780, had a house in Lal Bazar, so that punch-houses were, probably, its successors. Hawkesworth mentions—" I was also shown, *en passant*, a tavern called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold-mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. At the coffee-houses your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half-a-crown) ; which half-crown, however, franks you to the perusal of the English news-papers, which are regularly arranged on a file, as in London ; together with the

' *Calcutta Advertiser*, the *Calcutta Chronicle*, &c., &c.—and, for the honour of Calcutta, be it recorded, that the two last-named publications *are*, what the English prints formerly *were*, moral, amusing, and intelligent." The chief strangers that came to Calcutta were the Captains of the Indiamen, great personages in their day, the lords of those splendid ships, the Old Indiamen, and whose position was often a stepping stone to a seat in the Direction. In fact one of the Charters provided that six members of the Court of Directors should always have been commanders of their ships, but the Company rented accommodation for those magnates by hiring houses during their stay at 500 Rs. per month.

A little to the north of this, in the Chitpur road, is the *Tiretta Bazar*, so called from a Frenchman named Tiretta, who established it about 1788; he was superintendant of streets and buildings. It yielded a monthly rent of 3,800 Rs. It was valued then at two lakhs, and Tiretta having become bankrupt, his creditors offered it at that sum as a prize in a lottery.

Opposite the Tiretta bazar stood the house of C. Weston (after whom Weston's Lane was named); when he lived there in 1740, the house was in the midst of a large garden, which could have borne witness to many benevolent deeds. C. Weston here gave away 1,600 Rs. monthly to the poor with his own hand, and at his death he left one lakh of rupees as a legacy.

The road from Lal Bazar to the Old Church, called Mission Row, was formerly named the Rope Walk, and was the scene of hard fighting at the time of the siege of Calcutta, in 1757. The *Old or Mission Church* was so called, because it is the oldest church in Calcutta, having been built in 1768, eleven years after the demolition of the first church by the Musalmans. Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary to Bengal, erected it, at a cost to himself of half a lakh. He not only did this, but gave the proceeds of the sale of his deceased wife's jewels to the building; in 1774, a large school-room was added to the east of the present church. During his life-time Kiernander gave away of his own property in charity at least £12,000 sterling. This school and the church were built in a way then unusual in Calcutta, without any Sunday work. Kiernander died in 1799, in his eighty-seventh year, forty-eight of which he spent in India; with him died all very active efforts for the benefit of the Portuguese. The subsequent exertions were merely desultory.

David Brown, the first chaplain of this church, was the man for the middle classes. His congregation was chiefly composed of "Europeans, East Indians and Portuguese,"—the

only recompense he would consent to receive from the Christian Knowledge Society, was "some valuable packages of books." The church is still known among the natives by the name of the Lal Grija, from the red-painted bricks of which it was made; but *Lal Bazar* was a name in existence long before this church—perhaps it may have been called *lal* from its vicinity to the Lal Bazar? The premises now occupied by the senior chaplain were once the abode of Obeck, a well-remembered name. The residence of the junior chaplain is adjacent to the site of the first mission school begun in Calcutta, by Kiernander, in 1759. It contained 133 boys, Armenian, Bengali, English and Portuguese. English and Portuguese were taught in it. Kiernander entertained sanguine hopes of the conversion of the brahmans in the school; but his prospects were doomed, as many subsequently have experienced in similar cases, to vanish into air. The minister of the Mission Church paid more attention to the spiritual and intellectual condition of that much neglected class, the Portuguese, than any other persons in Calcutta, and some of the best members of the church were Portuguese: even as late as 1789, the Rev. T. Clarke, who came out as a Missionary, but who afterwards renounced his profession and became a chaplain "under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief," began to study Portuguese, as "a fundamental principle of the Mission was to have the native population everywhere 'addressed in their own language.'" This church is inseparably connected with the name of Charles Grant, who paid 10,000 Rs. to have it redeemed from the Sheriff's gripe. He contributed liberally to the missionary objects of it, and afterwards, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, selected the chaplains to be there.\* In the last century, the Old Church was in a state of feud with the New (St. John's) Church, the chaplains of the former were evangelicals, of the latter, high church; the middle class and the East Indians attended the former, the fashionables and "big wigs," the latter,—so far did the spirit of *odium theologicum* reach, that the chaplain of the New Church requested the Government to close the Old Church!

*Tank Square*, last century, "in the middle of the city," covers upwards of twenty-five acres of ground. Stavorinus states; "It was dug by order of Government, to provide the 'inhabitants of Calcutta with water, which is very sweet and 'pleasant. The number of springs which it contains makes the 'water in it nearly always on the same level. It is railed 'round, no one may wash in it.'" When this tank was dug,

\* For full details respecting Kiernander, see an article in this *Review*, No. XIII.—  
"The first Protestant Missionary to Bengal."

we have never been able to ascertain. Hamilton wrote in 1702, that the Governor had a handsome house in the Fort, "the Company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the Governors with herbage and fruits at table, and some fish-ponds to serve his kitchen with good carps, callops and mullet." Perhaps the tank was dug to serve as the fish-ponds, and the garden may have formed the Park, *Lal Bâg*, or in modern times, Tank Square. The tank was formerly more extensive, but was cleansed and embanked completely in Warren Hastings' time. Its first name was "the Green before the Fort." No doubt, it was the place of recreation and shooting wild game for the Company's factors, and in the middle of last century it was the scene of many a moonlight gambol of young people, and elderly ones, who, rigged out in stockings of different colours, yellow coat, green waistcoat, &c., &c., amused themselves on the banks of the "fish-pond in the park," inhaling the evening breezes, and thinking of the friends of whom they had heard nine months before!

*Old Court House Street*, parallel with Mission Row, is so called from the Old Court House, or Town Hall, which stood at the northern extremity of the street, on the site of St. Andrew's Church. The charity boys were lodged and fed here previous to the battle of Plassey—this was the first charity school,—feeding and educating twenty children for 2,400 Rs. annually. It was erected about 1727, by Mr. Bourcier, a merchant, who was afterwards appointed Governor of Bombay. In 1734 he gave it to Government, on condition of their paying 4,000 Rs. annually to support a charity school, this money goes to the Free School, and is still paid by Government. In 1765, it was considerably enlarged by private subscription, in consideration of this Government, agreed to give 800 Rs. monthly to the school. Omichand, a native merchant, gave 20,000 Rs. towards this subscription. Lectures were occasionally given in it; we find that Dr. Bell in 1788 read a course of twelve lectures on experimental philosophy there. Stavorinus writes of it, in 1770: "Over the Court House are two handsome assembly rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore, when they took that place." These assembly rooms were used, as the Town Hall is now, for holding balls, meetings, &c. We have an account of a grand ball given here in 1769, in honor of the Dutch Governor, by the English Governor Cartier. The party assembled at seven and remained till the next morning, "the ladies were decorated with an immense quantity of jewels."

Sir W. Jones occupied rooms in the present Court House, where he had to attend to Police cases twice a week, to issue warrants to pick up the drunken sailors, as all the Judges in those days took it by turns to do. In the Court only four attorneys were allowed to practise; an appeal was permitted to the Governor and Council. Another Court, founded in 1753, called the Court of Requests, existed, composed of twenty-four Commissioners, selected originally by the Government from among the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, but who, subsequently, elected their own members. They sat every Thursday, to determine matters of forty shillings value—three forming a *quorum*. Daniel gives a drawing of this Court House—with elephants walking in Tank-Square,—for in the last century elephants were freely permitted to perambulate the town. As early as 1727 a corporation, consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, and a Mayor's Court, was established, of which the famous Zaphania Holwell was once President; but it was considered to be too much under the influence of Government, cases having occurred where trials were suspended at the dictum of the Governor, who, by his patronage, greatly influenced the Members. Owing to this and the want of an enlarged jurisdiction to control the gigantic abuses which had grown up among the servants of Government, the Supreme Court was constituted in its stead in October, 1774. The Mayor's Court had jurisdiction in civil causes between Europeans. The judges were the Aldermen, mercantile men, who had a liberal allowance of twenty-two rupees monthly for their services! Holwell sat in this Court, and states, he heard natives confess to the most atrocious crimes, pleading they should be acquitted, since it was the *Kali Yug*, and therefore it was in the nature of things to commit sin. *Asiaticus* states, that the abolition of the Mayor's Court, in 1774, was not a very popular measure:—

The attorneys, who have followed the judges in search of prey, as the carrion crows do an Indian army on its march, are extremely successful in supporting the spirit of litigation among the natives, who, like children, delighted with a new play-thing, are highly pleased with the opportunity of harassing one another by vexatious suits; and those pests of society, called bailiffs, a set of miscreants hitherto little known in India, are now to be seen in every street, watching for the unhappy victims devoted to legal persecution. Even the menial servants are now tutored to breathe that insolent spirit of English licentiousness, which teaches the slave to insult his master, and then bring his action of damages at Westminster, if deservedly chastised for his impudence. Arbitrary fines are daily imposed on gentlemen who presume to correct their slaves; and the house of the Chief Justice of Bengal resembles the office of a trading magistrate in Westminster, who decides the squabbles of oyster women, and picks up a livelihood by the sale of shilling warrants.

As an illustration of the state of justice in the Mayor's Court, we give an anecdote with which the name of *Tagore* is mixed up. The party referred to, was a relative of the late Dwarkanath Tagore:—

A gentleman of the Council of Calcutta became indebted to one Wm. Wilson, a sail-maker, for work done in the way of his profession, amounting to Co.'s Rs. 75-9-7½, for payment of which the sail-maker sent in his bill, with a receipt annexed. The Councillor, who happened at the same time to be zemindar, alleged the charges in the bill were exorbitant and unreasonable, and would neither discharge nor give up the bill; threatening the sail-maker, that he would get him turned out of the Company's service, or sent to Bencoolen, if he persisted in his demand. The sail-maker, not intimidated, filed his bill in the Mayor's Court against the Councillor, who, rather than expose the affair to a public discussion, more prudently agreed to pay the bill and the expenses of suit, by which it was, consequently, swelled. The complainant's solicitor or attorney at law (as they are called in Bengal) sent his banyan, Radhoo Tagoor, a black merchant of Calcutta, to receive the amount of the bill. This was repeated several times without success; till at last the said Radhoo Tagoor desired the Councillor's banyan to inform his master, that the amount of the bill was wanted, and if it was not paid, some bad consequences might ensue from the cause going on in the regular course of law, and the charges being consequently enhanced; which being told to the Councillor and zemindar, he grew angry and ordered the merchant, Radhoo Tagoor, to be immediately seized by his peons and carried to the cutchery, where he was without any examination, inquiry, or form whatever, tied up, severely flogged, and beat on the head with his own slippers, by order of the said zemindar, who wrote a letter to the attorney at law upon the occasion, of which the following is an exact copy:—

SIR,—I have ordered your demand to be complied with. It is so extravagant, that I intend laying it before the court. Your banyan was so insolent as to tell me that, unless I discharge it directly, you would increase your demand, for which insolence in him I have sent him to the cutchery, where he will meet his deserts.

Your most humble servant,

Calcutta, the 22nd February, 1765.

Near the Old Court House, in the north-west corner of Lyon's Range, stood the *theatre*, which, in the siege of 1757, was turned into a battery by the Moors, and annoyed the fort very much. The theatre was generally served by amateur performers, and was frequented by the authorities; a ball room was attached; respecting the dancing there, *Asiaticus* gives us a lively description:—

For my own part, I already begin to think the dazzling brightness of a copper-coloured face infinitely preferable to the pallid and sickly hue, which banishes the roses from the cheeks of the European fair, and reminds me of the death-struck countenance of Lazarus risen from the grave. The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal; and in my opinion, however admissible in cooler latitudes, not a little indelicate in a country, where the inhabitants are covered with no more clothes than what decency absolutely requires. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and every feature distorted with fatigue, and

her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead.

*Fort William College* or *Writers' Buildings* was appropriated for the residence of writers, or Young Civilians. Originally civilians, during their first years in India, were employed in copying. Sir C. Metcalfe "wrote section" himself, a work now done by *keranis* at the rate of 1,400 words for a rupee—they at first lived in the fort, but, subsequently, in the present buildings, which were rented by Government from the Barwell family. Mr. G. Barwell himself retired to England on a fortune of eighty lakhs, he was member of Council in 1780, these eighty lakhs melted away in a manner no one could account for. Old Barwell was Governor of Calcutta in 1750, and for a century the family has commanded the first appointments in the Civil Service. The location of it in Calcutta was most unfavourable for the young men,—could the past unfold its tale, what a picture would be presented of young men fresh from school, lavishing large sums on horse-racing, dinner parties, contracting large loans with *Banians*, who clung to them for life-like leeches, and quartered their relations on them throughout their Indian career. Mention is made of the *Writers' Buildings* in 1780, as being "a monument of commercial prosperity,"—could the walls tell of the past, how many scenes would be unfolded—lamp shades used as champagne glasses, &c., &c. In the houses now occupied by the Exchange and the *Hurkaru* office, *Fort William College* was first located on its establishment in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley. Dr. Buchanan, the Vice-Provost, and Dr. Carey occupied rooms in what is now the Exchange, but it was then a part of the Old College of Fort William, and was connected with the other portion of the building, now the *Hurkaru* office, by a gallery that ran across the street. This building reminds us of a few points about the former status of civilians. Orders came from the Court in 1675, that civilians should serve five years as apprentices, receiving, however, ten pounds per annum for the last two years, and then to rise to the respective grades of writer, factor, merchant, and senior merchant; they were also directed to learn the military exercise, so that, if found better qualified for the military than the civil line, they might receive a commission and have military pay. Their honourable masters had strange ideas of a civilian's duties, for, in 1686, on ten ships of war being sent to Bengal, to fortify Chittagang and establish a mint there, there were six companies of soldiers sent in the ships, without captains, as the Members of Council were designed to act as such! Charnock, a civilian, was appointed

Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. But as early as 1600, the India Company requested in their petition for a Charter, "that 'no gentlemen might be employed in their charge!'"

To the west of Writers' Buildings, thirty yards east of the fort, stood the *first church* of Calcutta, called St. John's, at the suggestion of the Free Masons, who were liberal contributors to it.\* It was built in 1716, days when "gold was plenty and labour cheap" by the piety of sea-faring men. The Christian Knowledge Society took an active part in its establishment, and the Gospel Propagation Society sent a handsome silver cup in commemoration of its opening. As they were sometimes without a chaplain, owing to death, the service was performed by merchants, who were allowed 600 Rs. annually, for reading the prayers and a sermon on Sunday,—the oldest chaplain we have notice of, is Samuel Brereton, in 1709. The steeple of this church, "the chief public ornament of the settlement," fell, or sunk down in the earthquake of 1737, and the church itself, which commanded the fort, was demolished by the Moors in 1756. Calcutta then remained without a church, until the Missionary Kiernander erected one at his own expense in 1768, service in the interval being performed in a temporary room fitted up on a ground floor in the old fort, though little respect was paid to Sunday, except by hoisting the flag at Fort William. Even in church no great decorum was observed.

Where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by *all* gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat; accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition, (which are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones either choose country-born ladies for wealth, or, having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves, in order to be united to their favourite dulcineas in their native land), on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers; who, if this stolen view happens to captivate, often, without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, and becoming brides in the utmost possible splendour, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands entitles them.

In *Hartley House* mention is made of the foundation of a new church laid about 1780, in the new fort. Could any of our readers throw light on this subject?

In the north-west corner of Tank Square, stood the *Black Hole*, its site was commemorated by an obelisk, fifty feet high, inscribed with the names of thirty victims who perished in the

\* We have accounts of a Free Mason's Lodge in Calcutta in 1744; in 1789, they gave at the Old Court House a ball and supper to the members of the Company's service in Calcutta; and they seem to have had a local habitation and a name there from the days of Charnock—their institution tended to mitigate the exclusiveness of European caste in former times.



### 300 CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME—ITS LOCALITIES.

Black Hole, on the 20th of June, 1757. It was erected at the expense of Mr. Holwell and the survivors, "the bodies of the 'victims were thrown into the ditch of the fort.'\*" This monument, though erected at the expense of individuals, was pulled down by the order of the Marquis of Hastings, on the ground, that it served to remind the natives of our former humiliation.† As the remark has often been made, that Indian patronage has been a family one, and that the same names occur year after year, we append here the names of those as inscribed on the monument, which was erected to them, who perished one century ago in the Black Hole; but, few persons are in the Company's service now, of the same name, which seems to indicate that patronage has taken another channel:—

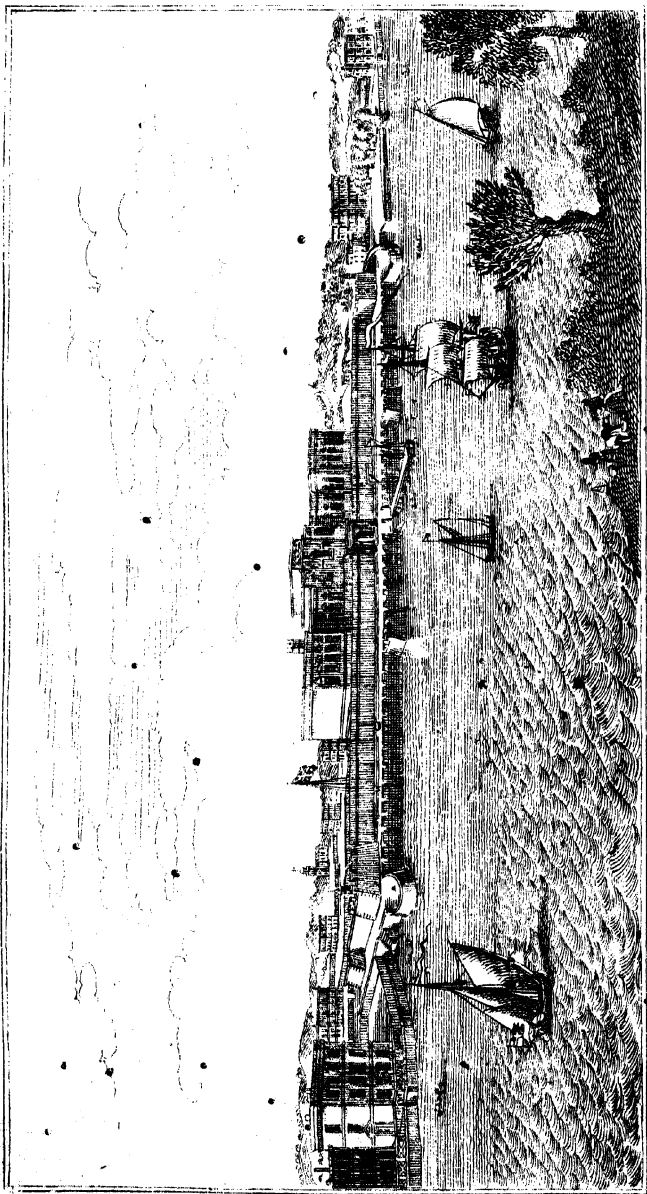
Edwd. Eyre, and Wm. Baillie, Esqrs.; The Revd. Jervas Bellamy; Messrs. Jenks, Reevely, Law, Coats, Nalicourt, Jebb, Torriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Carse, Knapton, Gosling, Dod, and Dalrymple; Captains Clayton, Buchanan, and Witherington; Lieuts. Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simpson, and J. Bellamy; Ensigns Paccard, Scott, Hastings, C. Wedderburn, and Dumbleton; Sea Captains Hunt, Osburn, and Purnel; Messrs. Carey, Leech, Stevenson, Guy, Porter, Parker, Caulker, and Bendol, and Atkinson, who, with sundry other inhabitants, military and militia, to the number of 123 persons, were, by the tyrannic violence of Surajud Daula, Suba of Bengal, suffocated in the Black Hole Prison of Fort William, in the night of the 20th day of June, 1756, and promiscuously thrown the succeeding morning into the ditch of the Ravalin of this place. This monument is erected by their surviving fellow-sufferer, J. Z. HOLWELL.

The *Old Fort* was called *Fort William*, because built A. D. 1692, in the reign of William the Third, the year in which the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, built theirs. Two years previously the Governor and Members of Council at Bombay were made to walk through the streets of that city with irons round their necks. The Burdwan insurrection of 1696 originated it. The walls were very strong, being made of brick, with a mortar composed of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, a cement as strong as stone. In 1819, when the fort was pulled down to make way for the Custom House, the pick-axe or crow-bar was of no avail, gun-powder was obliged to be resorted to, so strong were the buildings. In early days it was garrisoned by 200 soldiers, chiefly employed in escorting merchandise, or in attending

\* 150 were crowded into a room 18 feet by 14; 22 of these came out alive—for a full account of the Black Hole see Holwell's *Tracts* or Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, a work of sterling value.

† Suraj-a-Daula has, we think, been too severely blamed for the catastrophe of the Black Hole, the incarceration was the work of his underlings; his orders were simply to keep the prisoners secure, and when they complained, no man ventured to break the sleep of an Eastern despot. After all, Calcutta suffered far less injury from its capture by the Moors, than Madras did in 1746, when taken by Lally, and the French, who totally demolished all the public buildings.





Engraving from John William in the Kingdom of Bengal, belonging to the East India Company of England.

on Rajahs, who, like the chieftains in the castled crags of the Rhine, levied tolls on all boats ferrying up or down the river ! The Old Fort extended from the middle of Clive-street to the northern edge of the tank. About 1770 it was used as a church and a jail, and as the depôt for the Company's medicines. There is a sketch of it in an old Number of the *Universal Magazine*, which we have had re-produced in outline. Doubtless the foot itself is correctly delineated, although the artist must have drawn upon his imagination for the hills in the back-ground.

The Old Fort served like the feudal castles, to form the nucleus of the town (as in England all these towns, whose names end in *caster*, were originally Roman camps,) the natives meeting with protection, and enjoying privileges in trade, soon settled down in Suttenuddy and Govindpur.

*St. John's Church*, alias the old Cathedral, was opened on Easter Sunday, 1787. Previous to Bishop Middleton's arrival, it was called the New Church, to distinguish it from the Old Church, which is the oldest Anglo-episcopal church in Calcutta. With this building may be dated the commencement of the era of church-building. Calcutta was rising to its title of a City of Palaces ; the Supreme Council had called for plans of a church, and Warren Hastings felt, that the metropolis ought to have a suitable place for religious worship. As in 1774 Calcutta had "a noble play-house—but no church," service was held in a room next to the Black Hole. A Church Building Committee was organised in 1783 ; its first Committee Meeting was attended by its zealous patron, Warren Hastings, and his Council. They found 35,950 Rs. had been subscribed, 25,592 Rs. additional were given by a resource then popular in Calcutta—by lottery. A Hindu, Nabakissen, presented, in addition to assigning over the burying ground, a piece of ground, valued at 30,000 rupees ; the Company gave 3 per cent. from their revenues ; the rest was raised by voluntary contributions. We have never had in India such an inauguration of a church. On the day when the foundation stone was laid, the acting Governor gave a public breakfast, and then, along with the chief Government servants, went in procession to the scene of the ceremonial.\* Charles Grant despoiled Gaur of some of

\* This church called out the voluntary principle very rapidly—Mr. Davis undertook the ornamenting the church ; a barrister, Mr. Hall, drew up the contracts gratuitously. Wilkins, the orientalist, superintended the moulding of the stones prepared at Benares,—the East India Company gave 12,000 Rs. for providing communion plate, velvet, bells ; and besides 14,304 Rs. subsequently from the Government of Bengal, Earl Cornwallis gave 3,000 Sa. Rs. Zoffani painted the altar piece for it gratis. All the Apostles were taken from life, and represented persons then living in Calcutta. Old Tulloh, the Auctioneer, who came out in 1784, sat for Judas without knowing it.

its finest marble and freestone, the new church took three years in building, and Earl Cornwallis opened it on the 24th of June, 1787, thus wiping away the reproach. The Musalmans, during the short period they held Calcutta, in 1757, showed a different zeal, for they erected a mosque within the Old Fort, having pulled down other buildings to make room for it. Previous to 1787, divine service was performed in a small room of the Old Fort, "a great disgrace to the settlement; the site was occupied by the old burial ground which had existed there for a century previously; when the bones were rotted out of the graves to make a site for this church, it created a strong indignation among the Musalmans, who would not do it to their bitterest enemy." The bones were, we believe, removed to the new-burial ground; the "house of prayer was not the house of sepulture," and the tombs of the following persons were preserved—Hamilton, Charnock and Watson. The oldest burial recorded is that of Captain Barton, 1693. Charnock's widow was interred in the tomb built by himself, before which he used to sacrifice a cock on the anniversary of her death.

This burial ground was once "in the environs of Calcutta, as the new burial ground is now without the boundaries of the town." In 1802 the old tottering tombs were removed. Most of the old tablets were cut from stone procured at St. Thome, near Madras.

The vestry meeting of St. John's was long looked upon as a scene, where the laity gave their opinion and votes on church matters. The Governor-General, Earl Cornwallis, attended the first vestry meeting, in 1786. This vestry has charitable funds at its disposal, arising from legacies left by General Martine, Baretto and Weston, yielding in interest 15,000 Rs. annually.

We seldom see in the compound the train of carriages, palki-gharis and palankins, without thinking on the revolution that has taken place in manners. When the foundation stone was laid in 1784, the Governor and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta *walked* from the old Court House to take part in the solemnity; at the consecration they contributed 3,943 Rs. to a charitable object, that of a Free School; and previous to this period, the Governor and heads of Government, used to walk in solemn procession every Sunday to the first church, erected at the west end of the Writers' Buildings, which was demolished in 1756. While we are adopting the absurd custom of dressing in black in hot weather, we have almost renounced the good old English habit of walking. Certainly, the *exercise* of lolling in a carriage, benefits the doctor and

the coachmaker, but whom else? And yet people complain of the climate! We know the case of ladies in Chauringi who, through indolence, *are carried* up-stairs; no doubt they loudly exclaim what a dreadful place is India, where they must sit still so long!

West of St. John's, in the premises now occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee, was formerly the *Old Mint*, where the Company coined its rupees from 1791 to 1832. In the latter year the New Mint was established; previous to 1791, the coinage was executed by contract; the copper coin, chiefly by Mr. Prinsep, the father of the late James Prinsep, who conducted an establishment for that purpose at Fulta. The coining their own names, (though with the Mogul's head and a Persian inscription,) was an object of early ambition with the English and other European powers; hence even the Dutch had a mint of their own, at Murshidabad, in 1757. On the site of this Old Mint stood, in 1790, the flourishing ship-building establishment of Gillets. As late as 1770, no copper coin was to be seen in Bengal, no pice were in use, change under a rupee had to be given in cowries. This is strange. As early as 1680, a Mr. Smith was sent out from England as an assay master, on a salary of sixty pounds *per annum*, but it was the time when the commandant of Bombay had six shillings daily as his pay: in 1762 the first money was coined in Calcutta.

The site of the *Old Government House*, in 1780, was covered with squalid native huts "out of town;" but in Upjohn's map, the Government House and Council House occupy the spot covered by the present Government House. The building of this latter was commenced in February 5, 1799, and the first brick was laid by Timothy Hickey. Its projector, the Marquis of Wellesley, may be called the Augustus of Calcutta,—a man fond of Oriental pomp,—the ground cost 80,000, the building itself thirteen lakhs, the furniture half a lakh. Previous to that period the Governor lived in a small house now forming part of the Treasury. His views were, that "India should be governed from a palace, not from a counting-house, with the ideas of a prince, not with those of a retail-dealer in muslins and indigo." While the French Governor lived in the stately palace of Ghycetti, with its spacious lawn, in which 120 carriages have been at times drawn up, and the Dutch Governor resided in the beautiful terraced gardens of Fort Gustavus, in Calcutta there was no place to receive visitors in. The Dutch Governor of Chinsura, on his visit to the Governor, in 1769, was accommodated in a house belonging to a native. Opinions differ as to the precise locality of the old Government House, some say it

was where the Treasury is now, and others, at the south east corner of Government Place. Warren Hastings's town-house was a very small one, on the site of the present Government House, but Mrs. Hastings lived in one in Hastings'-street, now occupied by Messrs. Burn and Co.\* In the house at the corner of Waterloo-street, now occupied by Messrs. Winsor and Co., General Clavering lived, while General Monson resided in an adjacent house, now belonging to Messrs. Freer, Smith and Co., near Mango-lane.

The *Treasury* included the building first erected by Sir E. Coote, as a residence, in *Council House Street*. We have heard that the Council was formerly held in the house which still stands between Mackenzie's and Holling's offices, the scene of many stormy discussions between Hastings and Francis.

In *Old Post Office-street* was the Post Office, in a house opposite to Sir J. Colville's residence.

The *Town Hall* occupies the site of a house in which Justice Hyde lived, and for which he paid 1,200 Rs. rent. per mensem. In 1792 the Old Court House being in a ruinous condition, was pulled down by order of Government, and as it was used as a Town Hall, a meeting was held in 1792, at which Sir W. Jones presided, in order to raise subscriptions to erect another Town Hall. Sir W. Jones subscribed 500 rupees to the object.

The *Supreme Court*† sittings were first held in the Old Court

\* The following account is given by Grose, vol. 11, p. 249, of the sufferings in 1757 of the then Governor of Bengal and his suite. What a contrast it presents to the present regal style of magnificence with which the Governor General is received :—

They embarked in a wollock, or large boat, on the 24th, and were thirteen days in their passage to Muxadabad, which is about two hundred miles up the river from Calcutta. The provision was only rice and water ; and they had bambus to lie on : but as their fever was come to a crisis, their bodies were covered with boils, which became running sores, exposed to excessive heats and violent rains, without any covering, or scarce any clothes, and the irons on their legs consumed the flesh almost to the bone.

Mr. Molwell, as a prisoner of state, was estimated and valued to Bundo Sing Hazary, who commanded the guard, at four lakhs of rupees, or 50,000 £ sterling.

They arrived at the French factory on the 7th of July, in the morning, and were waited on by Mr. Law, the French chief, who generously supplied them with clothes, linen, provisions, liquors, and money. About four in the afternoon, they landed at Muxadabad, and were confined in an open stable, not far from the Soubah's palace. This March drew tears of despair and anguish of heart from them, thus to be led like felons, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city. They had a guard of Moors placed on one side, and a guard of Gentus on the other. The immense crowd of spectators, who came from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so blocked them up, from morning until night, that they narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather being excessively sultry. \*

† The Supreme Court calls up many associations. Here the sentence of Nankumar was pronounced, here Impey bravely maintained the independence of the power of justice against the E. I. C. then supreme over every other power.

Enormous fortunes were made by its lawyers in early days when the attorneys were limited to twelve in number, to share the spoils gathered from fostering the

House, and as the Old Court House was pulled down in 1792, the present building must have been erected about that time: for particulars respecting the early history of the Supreme Court, consult the *Life of Sir E. Impey by his Son*. Mrs. Fay gives an anecdote which throws light on the state of things in her day:—

On Mr. Fay's expressing some apprehensions lest his having come out without leave of the E. I. Company, might throw obstacles in the way of his admission to the Bar here, Sir J. Impey indignantly exclaimed, "No, Sir, had you dropped from the clouds with such documents, we would admit you. The Supreme Court is independent, and will never endure to be dictated to, by any body of men whose claims are not enforced by superior authority. It is nothing to us whether you *had or had not* permission from the Court of Directors, to proceed to this settlement; you come to us as an authenticated English Barrister, and as such, we shall, on the first day of the next Term, admit you to *our Bar*." There exists a strong jealousy between the Government and the Supreme Court, lest either should encroach on the prerogatives of the other. The latter not long since committed Mr. Naylor, the Company's Attorney, for some breach of privilege, who being in a weak state of health at the time, died in confinement.

The *Esplanade* formed a favourite promenade "of elegant walking parties," in moonlight evenings. The five chief streets of Calcutta abutted on it—to the south of it was the *maidan* covered with paddy fields, while the course led the ladies down to see an occasional launch at Watson's works.

Facing Government and Council House, stands *Fort William*, commenced shortly after the battle of Plassey, in 1757. The works were planned by an engineer named Boyer. It was evidently designed to hold the inhabitants of Calcutta, in case of another siege, as permission was originally given to every inhabitant of "the settlement,"—the name by which Calcutta was designated during last century,—to build a house in the fort. But entertaining views of domestic comfort, different from those held at Bombay, the people did not avail themselves of this *privilege*. They preferred the plan of living in garden-houses. In 1756 the site of it and the plain were occupied by native huts, the property chiefly of the Mittre family, and by salt marshes, which afforded fine sport to buffalo

litigious propensities of the natives. "A man of abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances; but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connections, and having for a time complied with the humour of their company from prudential motives, they become tainted, and prosecute their bane from the impulses of inclination."

We have an account of a Portuguese who, in 1780, carried on a law-suit with an American, which cost him 40,000 Rupees.



hunters. The borings made in the fort, in 1836—40, under the superintendence of Dr. Strong and James Prinsep, have shown that the ocean rolled its waves 500 feet beneath the surface of the present fort, and in 1682 an ancient forest existed in that locality.

During the building of the fort, the great famine of 1770 occurred, which caused great difficulty in obtaining food for the workmen—a sad time—children died at their mothers' breast—the Ganges' stream became corrupt from the corpses—and even its fish were poisonous from feeding on corpses,—76,000 natives perished in the streets of Calcutta, between July 15th and September 4th. 2,000 Europeans perished in Bengal. Two millions of people died in Bengal, and some natives in the neighbourhood of Patna fed on human flesh.

This fort cost two millions of money, of which five lakhs were for piling, to keep off the encroachments of the river; but the Company was cheated in their accounts, both by Europeans and natives. The amount may be estimated by the fact, that when Holwell, Governor of Calcutta, was about to prosecute certain defrauders, some party unknown sent a *lakh of rupees* to his house on the eve of the trial, to induce him to drop the prosecution; but he, as an honest man, handed it all over to the Company's treasury. Unhappily, in these days, he had few imitators, John Company was viewed as a lawful subject of spoliation, Dutch and English ran a race in making what money they could *quocumque modo*. The Company designed that only a fort, capable of being garrisoned by 1,000 men, should be erected, as if it required a much larger garrison they could keep the field. Much interesting and curious information respecting the building of the fort may be obtained in the *Reports of the House of Commons on India Affairs for 1770—2*.

It is only in recent years we have had any road outside the fort; the *Respondentia* walk extended a little below Chandpal Ghat, the resort of those fond of moonlight rambles, and of children with their train of servants—as no horses were allowed to go on it. Of the Strand road we shall state little, as such an ample account has been given of it in this *Review*, No. X., pp. 430-55.

The Respondentia walk joins on with what is now the Strand road, the creation of the Lottery Committee in 1824, along with Cornwallis and Amherst-streets. The Strand road was formerly a low sedgy bank, and the river near it was shallow, as the deep channel was formerly on the Haura side; but owing to the formation of the Sumatra sand (so called from a ship of that name sunk there, whose wreck formed the

nucleus of a mass of mud,) “the deep channel has been thrown ‘to the Calcutta side, from the projecting angle at Haura ‘Ghat.”

*Babu's Ghat*, next to it, was named from Raj Chandra Mir, who built it. The *Bankshall*, the hall on the banks of the river (?) was the site of the first dry dock in Calcutta, made here by Government, in 1790, but removed in 1808. Bankshall seems to have been an old name, given to stations for ships or pilots, thus Fulta was called the Dutch Bankshall, as their ships, owing to the strong currents, sometimes could not ascend the river to Chinsura, but anchored there. This gave rise to the Pilot Service, which was established in 1669, the men were to be furnished from the Indiamen, to man one pinnace. *Police Ghat* is so called from the Police Office having been there formerly. The embankment in front of the *Custom House* was begun in 1800. *Nimtola* was named after a *Nim* tree, which protected the weary with its shade. The *Strand* district is the oldest settled in Calcutta, its sedgy shores, called Suttanuddy, were occupied by Job Charnock, in 1689, when he landed from Uluberia; they presented the only cleared spot, as jangal extended from Chandpal Ghat all to the south.

In 1823 the *Strand road* was formed, which led to a great sanitary improvement, but injured the ship-builders, who had docks in Clive-street, and were obliged to remove to Haura and Sulkea. This road has been widened at the expense of the river, so that where the western railing of the Metcalfe Hall stands, there were, forty years ago, nine fathoms of water.

*Clive Street*, parallel with the strand, was once “the grand ‘theatre of business, and there stood the Council House, and ‘every public mart in it;” near where the Oriental Bank is now, was the residence of Lord Clive.

*Jessop's foundery* was established by Mr. Jessop, of the Buttery iron works, in Shropshire. He was sent out in 1820, by the East India Company, to make an iron suspension bridge for the King of Lucknow, he remained five years in Lucknow, then came to Calcutta and commenced a foundery.

The *Mint*, of modern erection, was built below high water mark, two-thirds of it is under ground, propped up on mud and piles.

The *Bag-bazar* is of long standing, it was in 1749 one of those farmed out by Government, along with *Soba-bazar*, *Sam-bazar*, *Hat Kola*, *Jaun-bazar*, *Burtalla*, *Sutanuddy Hat*.

We come now to *Haura*, on the opposite banks, but as we wish to confine our remarks to points not generally known and not easily accessible to the public, we refer our readers for an

account of the *Botanic Gardens, Bishop's College, Haura, &c.*, &c., to an Article in No. VIII. of this *Review*, pp. 476—484.

We merely notice that Haura, in 1709, had docks and a good garden belonging to the Armenians, that the ground to the north-west of the church is marked off in Upjohn's map as practising grounds of the Bengal Artillery. The old fort of *Tanna*, built to protect the trade of the river, was situated a little to the south of the residence of the superintendent of the Botanical Gardens: mention is made of it in 1686, when its garrison endeavored to hinder an English sixty-gun ship from passing down the river. In 1783 the *Orphan House*, now the Magistrate's kachari at Haura, was erected, of which David Brown was the first chaplain, but he resigned this *lucrative* post in 1788, and devoted himself to the *gratuitous* service of the Mission Church.

*Sulkea*, a densely populated suburb, containing 73,446 inhabitants, in 1835, formed the terminus of the Benares road, which, by its narrowness and roughness, reminds us of the difficulties dâk travellers must have met with in former days. It was a common practice, however, formerly, when travellers were few, for Englishmen to send to the zemindars along the road for supplies of bearers and food: the zemindars supplied them, but quietly indemnified themselves by debiting it to the expenses of the *revenue* collection, or else making the *rayats* pay for it. It was not until 1765 that a regular dâk was established, and that only between Calcutta and Murshidabad; and for a long period after that, travellers had no bungalows, but were obliged to send two sets of tents on before them.

Opposite *Sulkea*, on the left bank of the river, is the *Nawab of Chitpur's* palace, which was a favourite resort of Europeans in the last century. The buildings and gardens were magnificent; and the Nawab Rezah Khân lived on intimate terms with the *Sahib-loh*, inviting them to his palace, and presenting a fine object, mounted on his splendid elephant and attended by a guard of honour. When the foreign Governors came down from Serampur, Chandernagar, Chinsura, they landed at Chitpur, where a deputation received them, and they then rode in state up to Government House—this Nawab was a descendant of Jâfir Ali.

Beyond his palace, in the house now occupied by Mr. Kelsall, and known by the name of Kasipur House, lived Sir R. Chambers, noted for his oriental learning.

South of this is the *Chitpur-road*, which may be called the Chéapside of Calcutta, as Lal-bazar is its Wapping, being thronged constantly with native vehicles. Various wealthy

native families, who lived in this street formerly, have now deserted it on account of its noise and dust. It received its name from the goddess *Chiteswari*, who had a splendid temple here, where human sacrifices were formerly offered. Chitpur-road is the oldest road in Calcutta, forming a continuation of the Dum-Dum-road, which was the old line of communication between Murshidabad and Káli Ghat.

*Mutsya-bazar* was famous for its sale of fish, in last century : the native merchants lived on the river banks, while behind them were the seats of trade. The ground here is the lowest in Calcutta, and only eight feet above the sea level.

The *Bara-bazar* is mentioned in 1757. A native friend has communicated to us some anecdotes of natives, who resided in this and the neighbouring bazar a century ago: we give them :—

The oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, of any note, was Baishnavacharan Set, who lived at Bara-bazar about a hundred years ago, and was reckoned one of the richest and most honest merchants of his time. As an instance of his honesty, it is said, that Rámarája, prince of Telingána, would use no Ganges water for his religious services, unless consigned to him under his seal. Once the Set bought a quantity of zinc in the name of his partner, Gauri Sen, which afterwards turned out to contain a large admixture of silver. He attributed the transmutation of the metal to the good fortune of his partner, and, accordingly, made over the whole profit of the bargain to him, unwilling to share the good fortune of another. Gauri Sen became very rich from this wind-fall, used to spend large sums of money in liberating prisoners who happened to be confined for debts, and pay fines for such poor people as happened to fight or quarrel for a good cause, and, were punished by fines: hence the adage, “লাগে টাকা দেবে গৌরী সেন.”

Of this Set it is also said, that once he contracted to buy 10,000 maunds of sugar from a merchant of Burdwan, a *tam-buli* or *pán-dealer* by caste, named Gobardhana Rakshit. When the sugar arrived at Kadamtola Ghat, at Bara-bazar, the people of the Set, in order to extort money from the consigner, reported to their master that the goods were not equal to muster. This, in due course, was communicated to the consigner, and he was requested to make a proportionate deduction in the price. The Rakshit, rather than abate in his price, and submit to the stigma of attempting to deal unfairly, ordered the whole cargo to be thrown into the river.—When this intention was carried out in part, the Set interposed, and offered to take the remainder, paying for the whole invoice. Gobardhana, not to be out-done by the Set in honesty, would only take for what remained at the invoice rate, and the bargain was settled accordingly.

বনমালী সরকারের বাড়ি।  
গোবিন্দরায় মিত্রের ছড়ি।  
আমীর চাঁদের দাড়ি।  
হজুরি মল্লের কড়ি।

### 310 CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME—ITS LOCALITIES.

Of the four individuals named in the above stanza, all contemporary, of the middle of the last century, Banamali Sircar, the party noted for his fine house, was a *Sudgopa* by caste, and used to serve as a banian to European merchants. The ruins of his house still exist near Bag-bazar. His son Radhakrishna Sircar held a high position in Hindu society, and Raja Navakrishna, even in his better days, is said to have paid him court.

Govindaram Mitra was a zemindar; and had held large farms from the Nawabs of Murshidabad.\* He was notorious for his devotion to club-law, and his lattie was an object of universal dread. A temple (the oldest in Calcutta) and a Navaratna near the Chitpur-road still exist.

Hazurimall was a Sikh merchant; he lived at Bara-bazar, in a very large house, had a large establishment of clerks, and sixteen sets of singers and musicians to sing the praises of Akāl. A lane at Baitakhana is still known by his name.

Dewan Kashinātha was a parvenu. His widowed mother used to serve a Mohammedan fakir named Shāh Jūmmah, who lived in a reed bush on the bank of the river near Bara-bāzar. On the death of the fakir, Kashināth came to some fortune (it is said) through the blessing of the saint, and, subsequently, much improved it by his connection with the Rājā of Kāshijora, to whom he was introduced by Baishnavacharan Set.

The *Faujdarī Balakhana* was formerly the town-house of the Faujdar, or Governor of Hugli; under the Musalmans, he was an important personage, and one of the chief officers in Bengal.

We come next to an ancient quarter of Calcutta, the part occupied by the Armenians, Portuguese, Jews, Greeks. The appearance of the houses tells their own tale, and reminds us of the compact buildings in the garrison towns of the continent.

The *Armenians* are among the oldest residents, and their quarter attracts by its antique air, contrasted with conspicuous modern buildings in Calcutta. The Armenians, like the Jews, were famous for their mercantile zeal, and in early days, were much employed by the English as *Gomastahs*—they are to be commended for their always having retained the oriental dress—they have never had much social intercourse with the English. They had a church here as early as 1724, the present St. Nazareth; previous to that they had a small chapel in China-bazar, and their burying ground was on the site of the present church, while the East India Company made a regulation that, in whatever part of India the Armenians should amount to forty, the East India Company would build a church for them, and pay the minister's salary for seven years. The Armenians had settled in this quarter as early as the days of Job Charnock.

The *Portuguese* quarter of *Murgi Hāta*, or the fowl market, is equally interesting: we have given an account of it in an article in this *Review*, No. X.—“The Portuguese in North of

\* He was “the black banian” of the Mayor's Court for twenty-five years, and amassed an immense fortune.

India," we therefore need not repeat what is stated there. As the Portuguese were such ancient and influential inhabitants of Calcutta, we make a few general remarks respecting them.

It presents a singular contrast to present times, when 4,000 natives are receiving an English education in Calcutta, that in the middle of last century, the Portuguese language was a common medium of intercourse. The Portuguese had, for two centuries previously, carried on a flourishing trade, and many of them were employed as topazzas, table-servants and slaves (last century the generality of Europeans in Calcutta kept slave-boys to wait at table.) On this subject we extract from a Calcutta paper of 1781 the following advertisement :—

“ TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE SALE :

Two Coffree boys, who play remarkably well on the French Horn, about eighteen years of age: belonging to a Portuguese Paddric lately deceased. For particulars, enquire of the Vicar of the Portuguese Church.”

Mrs. Kindersley, in her letters, states, that the Dutch at the Cape imported slaves from the East Indies, which were easily procurable, as it was a practice of the Portuguese, in their early navigation in the East, to land on the coast, rob and plunder the defenceless inhabitants, and then carry them away as slaves, which they reconciled to their consciences, by making Christians of them, in giving them a black hat, trousers, coat and stockings, an *European* name, teaching them to repeat so many Pater Nosters and Ave Marias. Those natives who apostatised, were burnt at Goa. Slaves were regularly purchased and registered in the kácheri, and in 1752, we find each slave paid a duty of four rupees four annas to the East India Company, while at that period, the charge for a marriage license was only three rupees. Hamilton, in 1702, speaks of a place twelve leagues above Sagar, “commonly known by the name of Rogue’s river, which had that appellation from some banditti Portuguese, who betook themselves to prey among the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, and committed depredations on those that traded in the river of Hugli.” In other points morals were not better, the same writer states: “The Bandel deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the court of Venus.”

The Portuguese came in 1530, into this country, as mercenaries in the service of the King of Gour, and acted as a kind of pretorian guards to the native Rajahs; at that period the chief emporia from the Cape to China, an extent of 12,000

miles of sea coast, were in their possession,—and all this in the short space of fifteen years under Albuquerque.

We must allow the Portuguese full credit for a sincere desire to propagate their faith. “Wherever the Portuguese prevailed or gained a settlement, one of their first points was to ‘stock the place with missionaries,” but, like the French missionaries in North America, they were, in various cases, the panderers to ambition, so that the English at Bombay would not allow Portuguese missionaries to settle there, though they permitted French, German or Italian ones.

Hamilton writes in 1708; respecting their language: “Portuguese is the language that most Europeans learn, to qualify themselves for general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India.” How fallen now! There are, perhaps, not three Europeans now in Bengal, well acquainted with it, and even few of the so-called Portuguese can read it intelligently. The Portuguese language has now fallen through India. In 1823 it was complained of in Calcutta that “the priests preached in high Portuguese, while the people only ‘understood the language of *ayas*.” Few traces of it now are left, except in such words as *caste*, *compound*, *janala*, and a few others. The Portuguese conquests, by the temporal advantages conferred on converts, spread the system, but chiefly among the lower classes, who became their servants and soldiers. The epithet “Rice Christians” applied to Native Christians, was handed down from the Portuguese, who called such persons *Christianos de Arroz*. But what could have been expected from converts, when their teachers were a set of ignorant men, taken out of the class of common sailors and soldiers, who could scarcely read? No wonder that such men professed to show at Goa, the model of a ship which sailed in one night from the Cape of Good Hope to Goa, “the devil holding the helm, and the ‘Virgin Mary acting as quarter-master.” At Goa was every where to be met the image of the Virgin, described as “a ‘woman gorgeously dressed like a courtesan, with a friz bob-wig, with a crown on it, and a large hoop petticoat reaching ‘down to her feet, tied round the neck instead of the waist, and ‘a child in her arms.” These priests were famous legacy hunters, and thoroughly profligate, as the people were completely subject to their will.

The name Portuguese, in the last century, was a bye-word of reproach, the name Portuguese ayah was synonymous with *femme de plaisir*, while the men who boasted to be countrymen of Albuquerque and the DeCastas, became petty keranis or

cooks—what a fall for persons, whose ancestors, as early as 1563, used to send thirty ships annually from Bengal to the Malabar Coast, laden with pepper, sugar, cloth, and oil.

With all their faults, the Portuguese, in one point, set an example to the English, they made India their home,—the word so current among the English last century of “the Exiles” they spurned, they would not have called Calcutta a settlement, but a city.

The *native part of the town*, east of the Chitpur-road, is comparatively modern; though we find the names of Mirzapur and Simla mentioned in 1742, yet, down to the commencement of this century, their site was occupied chiefly by paddy fields, with stagnant tanks sending out their malaria, while at night no native would venture out with any good clothes on him—there was such just dread of robbery and murder. Of Simla it was stated in 1826, “no native for love or money could be got to go this way after sunset.” The site of Cornwallis Square and of the Circular canal was long noted for the murders committed there. *Soba Bazar* is a building of last century, and reminds us of Naba Kissen and the days of Clive.

Near the *Circular-road*, when the Marquis of Wellesley, whose influence gave a great stimulus to the improvement of the roads, came to Calcutta, was “the deep, broad Mahratta ditch,” which was chiefly filled up by depositing the filth of the town in it. “The earth excavated in forming the ditch, was so disposed on the inner or townward side, as to form a tolerably high road, along the margin of which, was planted a row of trees, and this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part about the town.” An old writer states: “Now (1802) on the Circular-road of Calcutta, the young, the sprightly and the opulent, during the fragrance of morning, in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation.” In 1794 there were three houses, in its length of three miles. The ditch was dug in 1742 to protect the English territories, then seven miles in circumference, the inhabitants being terrified at the invasions of those modern Vandals, the Mahrattas, who, the year previous, invaded Bengal to demand the chaut or fourth part of the revenues; they were fierce invaders, called by Arungzebe “mountain rats;” but it is to be remembered they were Hindus, who claimed, by treaty, a share in the revenues of the country: the Moguls broke their promise, and the Mahrattas had to collect by main force. But the Mahrattas, in 1742, were not a whit more atrocious than were the Orangemen and Romanists in Ireland towards each other in 1798. The Mahratta power was a pure Hindu revulsion against



the Musalman, and rose rapidly on the decline of the latter, extending its sway from Surat to the confines of Calcutta, and from Agra to the Kistna, collecting a revenue of seventeen crores, and numbering 300,000 cavalry, all under the guidance of brahmans. Like the French national guard, they were soldiers and peasants, and noted for the keen sword blades they wielded; they used to say the English swords were only fit for cutting butter. Owing to the defeat of 200,000 Mahrattas at Paniput, by 150,000 Musalmans, Bengal became for ever free from any apprehensions of invasion. The Mahratta ditch commenced at Chitpur bridge, but was not completed, as the panic subsided. By the treaty of 1757 with Mír Jáfír Ali, the latter agreed to give up to the English "the Mahratta ditch all round Calcutta, and 600 yards all round about the ditch; the lands to the southward of Calcutta, as low as Culpi, should be under the Government of the English Company." The country on the other side of the ditch was, at that time, infested with bands of dakaites, but there was a high road which ran along side the ditch, probably made from the excavation in 1742.

*Omichand's garden*, now *Halsi bagan*, was the head-quarters of Suraj Daula, and a military post fortified with cannon, in 1757. Here, at the Durbár, Messrs. Watts and Scrafton saw there was no prospect of making peace with the Nawab, and that the sword was the *ultima ratio*. The garden was so called from Omichand, the Rothschild of his day, a merchant of Patna, who possessed great influence over Ali Verdi Khan; he gained much money by usurious practices with the troops. The names of Omichand and Manikchand occur, who, as Hindus, held high appointments under the Musalman dynasty, but Gladwin, in his history, gives us the key to this policy. Omichand was the great millionaire of his day, who, by his influence, could sway the political movements of the court of Murshidabad. During forty years he was the chief contractor for providing the Company's investments, and realized more than a crore of rupees. He lived in this place with more than regal magnificence, most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to him, hence, merchant-like, he was an enemy to war. Omichand stipulated with the English to obtain thirty lakhs for betraying Suraj Daula, but on finding he was deceived by a fictitious treaty, he lost his reason.

The ground to the east of Omichand's garden was the scene of hard fighting, when, in 1757, the English troops marched in a fog, through Suraj Daula's camp, to the East of Halsi bagan, and marched down the Baitakhana. In the skirmishing which took place, the English lost more men than they did at Plassey.

*Baitakhana-street*, now the *Bow-bazar*, received its name from the famous old tree that stood here and formed a *Baitakhana* or resting place for the merchants who traded to Calcutta, and whose caravans rested under its shade. Owing to the dread of the Mahrattas, who plundered in the districts west of the Hugli, the Eastern side, as being protected by the river, was selected for their route of trade from the North-west. Job Chargoock is said to have chosen the site of Calcutta for a city, in consequence of the pleasure he found in sitting and smoking under the shade of a large tree. This tree was, probably, the Baitakhana tree, "here the merchants met to depart in ' bodies from Calcutta, to protect each other from robbers in the ' neighbouring jungle, and here they dispersed when they arrived ' at Calcutta, with merchandise, for the factory." This tree is marked on Upjohn's map of 1794. Baitakhana was called in 1757, the Avenue leading to the eastward, the greater part was then surrounded by jungle. A *rath* of Jaggannath, seventy feet high, formerly stood here, and a *thanna* was located under the shade of the big tree.

Opposite Baitakhana, in the south corner of Sealdah, is the site of the house which formed the Jockey club and refreshment place of the Calcutta sportsmen, when, in former days, they went tiger and boar hunting in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum. Let our readers remember that last century there were no pakka buildings in Dum-Dum, the artillery merely went there in the cold weather from the fort. An anecdote is related of an officer named Tiger Duff, noted for his athletic Highland form. Dining, some seventy years ago, at the bungalow mess-room in Dum-Dum, he found his servants retiring quickly from the room, when rising up to see what was the matter, he came in collision with a huge Bengal tiger, who had made his appearance within the compound. He had presence of mind to thrust the brawny arm of his right hand into the tiger's throat, and seize hold of the root of his tongue, the enraged beast twisted and writhed, and lacerated the other hand, but still he held his grip until he had seized a knife, and with his left hand cut his throat, when the animal fell in the agonies of death on the floor.

The house next Baitakhana is occupied by *Mr. Blacquiere*, the oldest resident in Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nankumar. He has seen the maidan & rice field.

*Sealdah* is mentioned in 1757 as a "narrow causeway, raised

‘several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side, leading from the East.’ It was the scene of hard fighting in 1757, when there were thirty-nine English and eighteen sipahis killed, eighty-two English and thirty-five sipahis wounded. The English guns had to be dragged through Sealda, then rice fields. At *Baitakhana* was a Musalman battery commanding the ditch, which inflicted great slaughter on the English.

To the North-west of Baitakhana is the *Portuguese burial ground*, the gift of Mr. Joseph Baretto, one of the Portuguese “merchant princes” of Calcutta, who purchased it in 1785 for 8,000 rupees.

The *Baitakhana church* was founded in 1809, by a Mrs. Shaw.

The *old Madressa*, founded by Warren Hastings in 1781, in the first instance at his own expense, still remains; the collegiate establishment was removed to Wellesley Square in 1824; the buildings have been improved,—but not the Musalmans; now, as then, “they despise the sciences and hold trade in contempt.”

Of the Calcutta Musalmans of last century little can be said; they were fierce and haughty, and paraded the streets with daggers in their girdles. On the decline of Murshidabad the best families went to the North West; the commercial influence of Calcutta not being liked by men whose ascendancy lay in the sword. In fact, Bengal was never thoroughly incorporated into their empire, and all their conquests in the South were slow; thus the Carnatic was not entirely reduced under their sway until 1650. They were never very zealous here in propagating their religion, and the case of Jafir Khan, who pulled down all the Hindu temples within four days’ journey of Murshidabad, in order to build his own Mausoleum, and a mosque with the materials, stands as a solitary case. They were severe collectors of the revenue however. Murshid Kuli Khan used to oblige defaulting zemindars “to wear leather long drawers, filled with live cats—to drink buffalo’s milk mixed with salt, till they were brought to death’s door by diarrhoea.” With all this cruelty, the Musalmans gave speedy decisions, which were preferable to the tardy, and therefore almost useless decisions of our existing courts. The *chora* or whip, and *sipaha* or triangle of bambu, with a rope suspended for tying up the culprit, were formerly common in their *kacharis*; the zemindar presided, and Europeans have been known to send their servants with a chit to the zemindar, politely requesting him to flog them!

*Sealda* leads to the Circular canal; the *Circular canal* branches

off from the Circular-road ; the north part of it was once the Mahratta ditch, through which a stream ran ; it was begun in 1824 and finished in 1834, at a cost of 1,443,470 rupees, but its increasing trade soon brought in a large profit ; in three years 23,109 boats passed through it.

On its site Suraj Daula's army was encamped in 1757, the part near Chitpur bridge is on the site of the old Mahratta ditch, which formed here a strong defence of Calcutta, against Suraj Daula's army.

Though, for some time, this canal was the cause of unhealthiness, it has contributed very much to the clearing of the country. *Baliaghat*, now the scene of such a busy trade, was seventy years ago called the "Baliaghat passage through the wood." A branch of the canal a mile long, called the Entally canal, excavated in 1809, serving as a large mud trap, contains 722,065 cubic feet.

The *Circular canal* begins at Chitpur, a little beyond is the village of Barnagur, i. e., *Barahanagar*, or the place of boars, once abundant there ; it was formerly a Dutch settlement, and the half way station between Fulta and Chinsura. Stavorinus writes of it as having a house for the temporary accommodation of such of their servants as land here in going up or down the river.

The *Salt-water Lake* seems, in former days, to have been deeper and wider than now, running probably close to the Circular-road. Holwell states, that in his time, about 1740, the lake overflowed in the rains, an occurrence which seldom takes place of late years. As late as 1791, Tarda was on the borders of the lake, but the lake is now at a considerable distance ; its greatest depth does not exceed  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and it seems to be gradually silting up ; charred and peaty earth, found twenty feet below the surface, indicates that here, as in Dum-Dum, were the remains of an ancient forest, and that it was the resort of wild buffaloes. These marshy lands are not now wholly useless, as they yield to the zemindars, by the fisheries and reeds, a profit of 16,000 rupees annually. It is about three feet lower in level than the banks of the river. Dr. Stewart, in his interesting "notes on Calcutta," written in 1836, states that : Not more than forty years ago, the salt-lake was much nearer to Calcutta than at present. On a road leading from the Circular-road to the lake, is the *Chinese burial ground*, on another road the *Parsi's*, and on a third the *Jew's*, the latter teems with Hebrew inscriptions.

The Circular-road might have been justly called the Valley of

Hinnom, in former days, as it was lined to the north in various places with burial grounds, which were then “some miles from the town,” though now situated in populous neighbourhoods, but “the temple of the divinity was not made a charnel house.”\*

The *Mission burial ground*, called Kiernander’s, was originally made by that eminent missionary, and opened on August 25, 1767, on the old burial ground near Tank Square being ploughed up and its monuments levelled. Few names of note occur here. Few call up historic associations, as Ghazipur does of Cornwallis, or Tanjore of Swartz, or Goa of St. Xavier. The name of Jones almost stands out alone, *magnum et venerabile nomen*; his monument has been repaired at the expense of the Asiatic Society. The ground yielded large profits, 500 rupees last century being charged for opening graves for the respectable classes,—days when undertakers fattened on the spoils of death. The small square on the opposite side was opened in 1773 for interring Kiernander’s wife, the square to the east was opened in 1796: the monuments chiefly record the names of those “born just to bloom and fade.” There is, however, the monument of Colonel Stewart, disfigured by the emblems of Hindu idolatry, which in life he so warmly cherished. Few tombs of the old times occur, though Park-street burial ground is the *Pere Le Chaise* of Calcutta; there are, however, the tombs of General Clavering, the great opponent of Hastings, of *W. Chambers*, the first person in Bengal who translated any portion of the Bible, and of *Cleveland*, the benefactor of the Rajmahal Hill tribes.

*Tiretta’s* burial ground was opened in 1796, taking its name from the same Monsieur Tiretta who established the bazar already spoken of.

The *French Burial Ground* contains few monuments of any antiquity, though the French seemed at one time in a fair way to have contested for the prize of Bengal with the English,—when Colonel Clive took Chandernagore in 1757, their fort mounted 183 pieces of cannons, many of large calibre, and they had previously a greater number of European troops than the English,—but England was the “Ocean Queen.”

\* Among the most flourishing trades, that of an *Undertaker* was the foremost. As late as thirty years ago, an Undertaker about to sail for Europe, demanded 20,000 rupees for the good will of his business for the months of August and September,—memorable months in old Calcutta, when as late as Hastings’ administration, those who survived them used to congratulate each other on having a new lease of life; and at an earlier period, the 15th of November was an equally memorable day, when the survivors met to rejoice in their deliverance from death.

The Muhammadans have five burial grounds along the road; Narikeldanga, Gobra, Kasia-bagan, Tangra and Karbela.

Respecting the native part of Calcutta, little is to be gleaned. We find in Holwell's account, that in 1752, the names of the following places are mentioned:—Patreah Ghat, Soba-bazar, Bag-bazar, Haikhola, Simla district, Mirzapur district, Hogul-kurea district, Doubapara, Jaun Nagore, Baniapukur, Tangra, and Dollond.

We have thus taken a glance at the chief points of interest in the different streets,—but the European population change here so rapidly, that the events of the past soon become buried in oblivion, and this was particularly the case before the newspaper press sprang up, which is such a mirror of the events of the day. Few of the streets bear any marks of antiquity, and the English, like the Americans, have had the bad taste to give them European names, instead of euphonious expressions drawn from native associations,—yet there is not a single street which perpetuates the name of the founder of Calcutta, Mr. Charnock. The natives have not been so neglectful, as Barrackpur still retains the soubriquet of Chanak. Of the native ones some are called after things which were sold on the site of the existing streets; as Suriparah (wine sold); Harikatta (bones for combs); Kulutala (oil); Chaturparah (carpenters); Chunam (lime); Molunga (salt); Aharitola (curds); Kumartola (potters' tank.)

The names of old native proprietors are recalled by *Hedaram Banerjea Guli*, *Bihma Banerji Guli* (Bihma was noted for inviting large parties of natives, and giving them scanty fare); *Jay Narayan Pakrasi Guli*, (Jay Narayan is said to have had a contract for building a part of the fort, having received several lakhs in advance, he fled); *Tulsi Ram Ghose Guli*, (Tulsi Rám gained much money as a ship banyan.)

*Loudon-street* recalls the name of the Countess of Loudon, in whose time it was built. *Russel-street* was called after Sir H. Russel, Chief Justice, who built the first house there, now occupied as a boarding establishment. *Middleton-street* was so named after its first resident, a civilian; it was formerly a part of Sir E. Impey's park. *Grant's-lane*, in Cossitolla, so called from the late Charles Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, who resided in the first house on the right hand side as you enter from Cossitala. He came out to India, poor and penniless, but by the force of integrity and religious principle, he rose afterwards to be chairman of the Court of Directors. What a contrast his original position was,—

that of an “interloper” or private trader,—a class to which the Court was so hostile, that in 1682 they sent out orders that none of their servants should *intermarry* with them. *Olive-street*, so called from Lord Clive, he lived where the Oriental Bank is now located.

The Musalmans have given “few names to places, those chiefly from *pirs*—such as *Maniktala*, which was called after a Musalman pir or saint, named Manik.

The Portuguese have *Baretto-street* (the name of Baretto occurs, as that of a Viceroy in India, in 1558). Joseph Baretto was a Portuguese merchant, who came from Bombay and settled in Calcutta as a merchant, and was a man of the same generous stamp as Palmer.

We close now our notes on the *localities* of Calcutta; an equally wide field is presented in the *people* of Calcutta of last century—their amusements—literary and religious condition—their dress—diet—diseases—manners—institutions—the newspaper press—the prices of articles—trades—but the limits assigned to this *Review*, and the extent of our article, forbid our entering on the subject at present.

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ART. III.—*Selections from Public Correspondence, North Western Provinces. Published by Authority. Nos. I. to XI. Agra. Secundra Orphan Press.*

"THE Government of India," said Burke, "is a Government of writing—a Government of record." "This system," he adds, "affords such means of governing a great, foreign and dispersed empire, as few countries ever possessed even in governing the most limited and narrow jurisdiction." Regarding no country in the world has more been written than India, and yet regarding no country is the general public more misinformed and more apathetic. No Government is more commented upon by Englishmen than the Indian, and yet no Government is less understood by them. One cause, among many others, of this practical paradox, has been the non-publication of official documents. In this respect the Government of the North Western Provinces has started on a new course. Of all the Indian Governments, it has published the most, and it stands the highest in public estimation. It is one of the first duties of an enlightened Government to "justify its ways to men." Such an administration will gain by publicity, and lose by secrecy. But besides the moral influence acquired by the Government from the publication of its records, the effect produced on the officers of the various departments is quite electrical. When officials at a distance learn what their fellow-workmen are doing—what plans are conceived—what thoughts are moulded into shape—they are not only stimulated to action, but are also instructed how to act. Thus the light of improvement is reflected and infinitely diffused, and the ideas of progress are communicated to the remotest parts of the Presidency, just as the winged words fly along the wires of the telegraph.

With this feeling we propose to review the *Selections* placed at the head of this paper. They have appeared in separate numbers, at various dates, during the last three years. Eleven numbers have been issued, of which the united bulk nearly equals two octavo volumes. They are well got up, and the pages are copiously interspersed with colored maps, plans, and drawings. The facts and subjects are sufficiently varied to admit of classification and generalization. We shall therefore note those headings under which the records may naturally be grouped, so as to enable the reader to see at a glance what is the nature of the information offered. It may be said then that the papers relate to 1—*Bridges*; 2—*Roads*; 3—*Canals and works for irrigation*; 4—*Navigation*; 5—*Statistics*; 6—*Revenue*;



7—*Criminal Administration* ; 8—*Miscellaneous*. It should be noted *en passant*, that none of the correspondence refers to the "Dewan," or civil department. We shall now consider what light has been thrown on each of these subjects by the present publications.

The subject of bridges stands first in the list. As there is little hope that many of our great rivers, with their shifting courses and their precarious banks, will ever be spanned by viaducts or permanent bridges, it becomes of great importance to consider how temporary bridges may be best constructed, that can withstand the lesser floods and currents, and can afford an easy transport for the winter traffic. The ordinary boat-bridges can be economically constructed, but then they are apt to yield to the force of the stream, and to the pressure of the traffic; and then they undulate under passing loads. In 1845, Mr. Jackson, the magistrate of Agra, endeavoured to strengthen the Jumna bridge by the insertion of pontoons, or iron cylinders, in lieu of boats. The experiment was tested by the passage of the captured Sikh ordnance, and, subsequently, the pontoons having been increased to the number of seventy, till they bridged the whole river, a space of 1,250 feet,—a committee, composed chiefly of professional judges, was appointed to examine the relative merits of pontoon and boat bridges. We will note the chief points established by the committee's enquiries. The expense of the iron structure is greater—a pontoon bridge would cost three times as much as a boat bridge. But then, by the pontoon, we secure stability and buoyancy to resist the stream, and to support a greater load of traffic, and rigidity to facilitate the passage. Further, it may be presumed, with the utmost probability, that the pontoon bridge will be the most durable. The cost of maintenance and repair would be about equal in both cases. The form of structure must, firstly, depend on the nature of the river. For deep and rapid rivers the cylinders used at Agra are the best, as offering less obstruction to the current, and being therefore more capable of resisting it; while, for a shallow stream like the Jumna at Agra, a more boat-like form is desirable, as occasioning a less draught of water. With respect to the materials, the committee has explained the precautions necessary for the preservation of the iron when the pontoons rest on the wet sand.

It is reported that pontoon bridges, on the Agra model, are to be constructed at Delhi and Allahabad. When this improvement shall have been added to the wooden tram-roads already conducted over the sands, the crossing of the river will be most complete. Before quitting the subject, we must observe,

that in the Punjab, where there are more temporary bridges than in any other province, the consideration of pontoon bridges becomes very important, both on account of the scarcity of wood and the violence of the winter floods. There are few boat-bridges which do not require renewal during the winter, and which are not swept away on the first melting of the mountain snows in March.

Permanent wooden bridges are treated of in the *Selections*. There are some useful plans inserted for their construction in hill districts, where the nature of the ground and the abundance of timber offer unfavourable facilities; but their use in champaign country is not recommended. Several wooden bridges of great size and antiquity in the Rohilkund territory are described. When some bridges of this kind were erected by the Shahjehanpore local committee, the Court of Directors enquired what special antidote had been provided against destruction by white-ants and dry rot. The important fact was elicited, that the best preservative against their ravages is the vibration occasioned by traffic. The timbers of bridges built prior to British rule have remained unscathed, although subjected to no kyanizing process, and fortified by no external application. In reference to the preservation of wood, we will, in this place, advert to a valuable report by Dr. Paton, the superintendent of the Government mail carts, established on the Grand Trunk Road, relative to the preparation of babul wood by boiling. For some years past, the wheels of the mail carriages have been made of this wood. This process had been considered injurious to strength, elasticity, and durability; but it is now found to secure, instead of destroying, these qualities. Dr. Paton attributes this effect to the extraction of the sap, and to the amalgamation of the tannin (which exudes from the bark) with the fibres of the wood, which results are produced by the process of boiling. To show the value of this process, it is sufficient to state that it seasons wood in four months, which would otherwise have been seasoned by atmospheric influences in four years.

We find no mention of suspension bridges; however, several valuable treatises on this class of bridges have been already published. There are two valuable plans for bridges; one is a plan by Lieut. Briggs, surveyor on the Grand Deccan Road, for crossing the Nerbudda. The remarkable feature of this plan is the super-structure, which is formed on what is called the "double-truss" principle. The wooden trusses compose the flooring of the bridge, and are substitutes for arches. The piers are to be of masonry, and their foundations must be sunk till they reach a substratum of rock or some such substance.

The want of foundation in our Indian rivers is, indeed, the difficulty which often sets all mechanical science at defiance.

Provided some foundation can be found, whereon the structure may ultimately rest, the suspension, the tubular, and the double-truss principles would surmount all obstacles, and embrace the broadest rivers in their mighty span. The double-truss system has already been employed in the construction of noble viaducts over the American rivers; but then the pillars were both made of granite and rested on granite. However, the second of the two plans above adverted to is meant to partially combat this very difficulty. Colonel Boileau's elliptical bridge is expressly designed to obviate, by means of its tunnel, the necessity for massive piers and foundations in the black yielding soil of Malwa.

In connexion with masonry works, we may say a few words on the brick-making machines introduced into India by Colonel Cautley. The brick-moulders of Hindostan, animated by that spirit so eminently evinced, on a recent occasion, by the operative engineers in England, were constantly striking work. During his visit to England, Colonel Cautley examined the various brick machines used in the British Isles, and by the Egyptian engineers on the Nile. He caused two machines to be tried in the Ganges canal works, one invented by Messrs. Ainslie of Ipswich, the other belonging to Mr. Hall, an American invention. The former did not answer for the soft clay of India. The latter plan proved very successful, turning out bricks for half the cost of manual labour. The moral effect produced on the brick moulders appears to have been most gratifying, —from the most untractable they have become the most docile of beings!

A large number of the papers printed among these *Selections* refer to road-making. The account given of the operations conducted by several of the local committees is most satisfactory. Our readers probably know, that, in the various districts, these committees, chiefly composed of the resident civil and engineer officers, form a most important agency, to whom are entrusted the conservancy and extension of all local improvements, and the employment of the road and ferry funds. Many active members of the committees, though they had not received a scientific education, yet endeavoured to make up by care and diligence for the want of professional knowledge. The Azimgurh committee seem to have largely profited by the counsels of Colonel Boileau, of the engineers, whose useful plans and explanations are given in the *Selections*. The Gorakhpore committee appear to have been eminently successful.

An interesting catalogue is inserted of the public works completed by them, without any professional aid whatever. The illustration thus afforded of the opportunities of doing good, which are enjoyed by these local committees, forces upon us the consideration, that civil engineering ought to be an obligatory branch of education for all the Company's servants. It should be a prominent object in the programme of Haileybury studies; and those civil servants who may not previously have received any education in this department, should devote a portion of their furlough leisure to the acquiring of this most necessary knowledge. The Goruckpore district is now intersected with good roads. The nullahs have been bridged, the morasses have been traversed by embankments. Scarce thirty years have elapsed since the scanty traffic toiled its weary way along ruts and furrows, and was hopelessly "stuck" in the quag-mires, or brought to dead stops by unfordable brooks. Goruckpore is, doubtless, one of the most interesting districts in Upper India. In few localities have cultivation, trade, and material wealth more rapidly increased. It was formerly the favored resort of the wild beast and the hunter; but now civilization has interposed its mild sway and spoilt all the sport. We doubt not, that many civilians in mature life have collected revenue from tracts of country, where, in the days of their griffinhood, they had chased the boar and shot the tiger.

The Shahjehanpore committee, we also find, induced the Rani of Powaine, a wealthy princess, to construct, at her expense, under their directions, a handsome masonry bridge. The works of public utility, which figure in the *Calcutta Gazette*, as constructed by individuals, are frequently sneered at. And, indeed, some of them are "shams." At all events, functionaries in this country cannot do better than stimulate the public spirit of their neighbourhood, and turn to good account that vanity and love of fame which glows in the breast of every native grandee. We find two valuable papers on the Grand Trunk Road, one by Colonel Abbott, the other by Major Willis. The first paper, though it must have been very useful at the time of publication, is less so now, inasmuch as most of the reforms it advocates have since been carried out. Still it embodies the experience afforded by early errors, and furnishes a gauge by which to measure our progress. Needless sinuosity of the line, bad drainage, narrowness of section, lofty causeways, with precipitous banks, wanting slope, dangerous ditches, defective sidewalk—then, unconsolidated metal, extravagant cost of kunkur, want of shade—all these are evils which have been partially or entirely remedied. In this report, also, the question as to how

far the metalled line may become available for indigenous traffic is touched upon. The carrying trade must, of course, adapt itself to the new mode of transit. A revolution in roads must give rise to a revolution in wheels, and in the shoeing of cattle. Light carts going short journeys, with unshod cattle, and weak wooden wheels, can never bear the friction of the metal, but must keep to the old track of sand and ruts; while the business-like class of carriers, who, under the new regime, will be created for the benefit of commerce, must always prefer the solid metal for their heavy-laden carts, whose cattle are shod and whose wheels are bound with iron.

The most useful part of Major Willis's report is the account given of the "Nokur" coolies, who, it appears, correspond with the "mile-men" of England, and the "cantonniers" of France. The necessity for such an establishment is based on the old principle, "one stitch in time saves nine." The system which postpones repairs till the metal has become materially thinned, or has broken in altogether, is shown to be ruinously extravagant, especially in Indian roads, where the incessant attrition of the hackery-wheels, which always pursue the same track, tends to wear the metal into ruts. To obviate this, a fixed establishment is distributed along the whole line, by whom every mile of road is daily inspected, and the faintest indications of wear and tear reported, in order that a prompt remedy may be applied.

There is a paper on stone tram-roads in general, and especially the line constructed near Agra: these roads are extensively used in the vicinities of English cities, and may also prove of advantage in this country for short distances near cities and custom-houses, where there may be a great press of traffic, especially if the surface of the ground be waving or broken. The cost must, of course, be considerable, about 4,500 rupees per mile, but the Agra line appears to have answered its purpose. In connection with this subject, we have a full account of the stone quarries near the Agra, Allahabad, and Mirzapore districts. The stone is shown to be of good quality, as indeed is attested by the many fine old buildings still extant, and the quarriers possess a rough, though tolerably effective mechanical skill; but no great advance as yet seems to have been made in applying or developing the resources of these quarries. They are held by various tenures, and are subjected to various scales of duty, in some cases so high, as to be almost prohibitory. In most instances, no direct duties are levied by Government, but the landholders of the estate, within which the quarry is situated, are allowed to levy cesses from the quarriers. The

net profits accruing to the landholders, from such quarries, sometimes is, and sometimes is not, taken into account, at the assessment of the land revenue. On the whole, the stone duties levied by the state, or by the lord of the manor, appear to be much lighter than those exacted by the native states adjoining the frontier.

We cannot leave the subject of roads, without briefly noticing a paper by Major Kennedy on road-making in the Hills, and especially on the principles applicable to the Hindustan and Thibet roads—that most interesting road which conducts the traveller from the plains to Simla by an almost imperceptible ascent, and which must ever be an interesting subject to the Simla-going public; but the paper is filled with details of a purely practical and professional nature, which can hardly arrest the attention of the general reader. Suffice it to say, that the paper embraces the line of the road, the fixing of the “obligatory points” with mathematical precision, and the exact marking of the line, from one point to the other, and the construction of the road, the fixing of the centre line, the sloping off of the surface towards the sides, the judicious adaptation of the materials which nature furnishes close at hand.

We pass on to canals and works of irrigation, it could not be expected that these *Selections* should give much additional information regarding the canals of Upper India. The Government has already published largely, and the *Calcutta Review* may claim credit for having aided in making these canals known to the public. We meet with an account of some experiments made to test, by the analogy of the Jumna, the probability of the Ganges being affected as a navigable river by the great canal. During four periods of the year the Jumna canals were closed, the waters subtracted by it being thus thrown back on the parent stream, water gauges were established at the principal places along the banks. It was thus ascertained that the river was affected only in the winter, the maximum rise of fifteen inches occurring in March. Colonel Cautley considers that neither the Jumna nor the Ganges will be affected as navigable streams, and certainly that portion of the cotton trade, which depends on the water carriage of the Jumna, does not seem to have suffered: still, it is admitted that a rise of fifteen inches would relieve boats sticking on a sand bank. So, after all, the navigation of these rivers may be affected, though, perhaps, slightly.

We have not space to notice a plan for spreading a canal over the thirsty sands of the Cis-Sutlej states, especially as its interest would be eclipsed by the Punjab canals now in progress.

There is a set of official papers, from the Madras Revenue Board, in the Department of Public Works, on the irrigation of the Tanjore province. The magnificent deltas, threaded by a net-work of canals, which adorn the Coromandel Coast, have been famous ever since the days of Burke; but the facts, as generally known, appeal to the imagination rather than instruct the reason. A precise official report, therefore, is useful, as pointing out models for imitation, and especially as denoting the exact results of British rule, in maintaining and enlarging the works—as showing, in fact, how our Governments have used and put out to interest the legacy of improvement bequeathed to them by their native predecessors. Under the native rule, navigation and land transit were sacrificed to irrigation; now, both have been rendered compatible with it. The canals have been bridged, and navigable lines have been established. At one time accumulations of sand threatened to cut off the supply of water. These were removed by engineering skill. Full testimony is borne to the perfection attained, by the native government, in the science of irrigation. There is a complete map of the Tanjore provinces, and a detailed account of each kind of work. The Madras system differs on the whole from that of Upper India. Large canals are not excavated, but the natural streams are diverted into channels of irrigation. The *Selections* show that the Agra Presidency emulates the other divisions of the Empire. They comprise papers on the works of irrigation, in the Delhi territory, in Rohilkund, in Himar, in Allahabad, in Ajmere. The Ajmere report has been subsequently superseded by the quarto volume, which Colonel Dixon has published on the history and administration of this province. This work has received its full meed of praise, from the periodical press of India. We have already (No. XXX., Art. 9) noticed it at considerable length, therefore regret the less that we have not the space to recapitulate even the material results of an administration, that in ten years doubled the cultivation and revenue, and trebled the population of the province, by an outlay of public money, which has been repaid to the Treasury, in the shape of extra revenue, three times over. The Delhi report shows how the old embankments, reared in the time of Mogul emperors, have been kept in a state of substantial repair.

In the year 1844, a volume of reports on Rohilkund was published, which brought down the administrative history of the province to that date.

We need not retrace the history of the Terai Pergunnah, and the causes, geographical, social, and political, which have

led to the sad deterioration of this tract. It was incumbent on the British Government to restore and re-invigorate a tract which, during the course of time, has been changed from a fertile garden to a pestilential swamp; especially as it had been neglected, during the early years of our rule, and as much of the mischief had arisen, subsequently to that fatal invasion, in which the Nawab Wuzir of Oudh was backed by Warren Hastings. The improvement of the Terai vicinity was taken in hand during the year 1843-1844, when Captain Jones, of the engineers, was appointed to organize plans of drainage and irrigation, which should change the face of the country and dissipate malaria. The papers now included in the *Selections* take up the narrative at this point, they exhibit the various works constructed by Captain Jones, to the close of 1847; but we have no further accounts subsequent to this year. We hope that reports will, some day, be published, which may show how far the anticipated results have been attained. This subject also has been discussed at length in our pages. (No. IX., Art 3.)

Two papers are devoted to the improvement of navigation. One treating of the Jumna, by Lieutenant Douglas, the other on the Ganges, by Mr. E. A. Reade, the commissioner of Benares. The first paper dates as far back as 1840; it lays down very clearly the first principles which should guide all efforts at improving navigation, such as the causes which create accumulations of sand, the preservation of the mean velocity of the stream, the effects which result from any disturbance of this mean, the cases where the section requires widening, or where the channel requires deepening. Mr. Reade's minute describes some very simple and cheap experiments, by which the Ganges was enabled to remove the sand impediments which choked up its course in the Beaulah Flats. On the lower corner of the shoal, two lines of boats were arranged in a conical shape, converging to an apex. Between the two points of the apex, a small aperture was left to admit the current. This passage was further cut by delvers, who extended their excavation upwards. The river thus aided, soon enlarged the channel through the midst of the sand-bank, till the whole was carried away, and the course left free for navigation. "Thus," says Mr. Reade, "a barrier, which it would have been worth the while of the Steam Companies to remove at a cost of thousands of rupees, was effectively disposed off at a cost of twenty-seven." Proceeding on a similar principle, Mr. Reade proposes, in such localities as Beaulah Flats, to fix two lines of boats, strengthened by hawsers and thorn bushes, to form



solid boundaries of the navigable channel. The river would cut a channel for itself, eddies would be formed, and the sand held in solution would be deposited behind the lines of boats: thus the navigation course would be both cleared and marked.

There are, among the *Selections*, some contributions to the *Statistical Literature* of the North Western Provinces. The reader is, doubtless, aware, that the bulk of the statistics of Upper India have been embodied in the *Statistical Manual*: but in the present volumes we find some useful supplements. There are revised census returns for the city of Delhi, and the districts of Muttra and Furrukhabad. In Delhi some useful comparisons are drawn. It appears that the people of Delhi are better off for house-room than most of the populations in the crowded districts of England, and much better off than the population of Middlesex. The rate of mortality seems much greater at Delhi, being one to twenty-nine, whereas in England, it is one to fifty-five; some deductions, however, must be made for Delhi, the deaths of children bear a large proportion, and it appears, that of late years small-pox has made great havoc. In Muttra, the increase of population during the two years following the census of 1848, was ten per cent. There is a very interesting statistical memorandum of Mr. C. Raikes, the collector, on the resources of the Mynpurie district, in which the population returns are used as a means of testing the gross produce of the land. The exports in gram and other kinds of produce of the district, are approximately ascertained. Then the number of people and cattle being known, the amount which they must consume, (and which, it is shown, must be raised in the district,) is calculated. The total amount of produce, both for exportation and for domestic consumption, being estimated, its value is proved to be *seven times* the Government revenue, whereas it has been always supposed, that in Upper India, the Government revenue absorbs one-fourth, instead of one-seventh. Mr. Raikes's data do, in our opinion, bear out his conclusion. It then becomes an interesting question, whether similar reasoning will apply to the whole North Western Provinces. The land revenue of the provinces is about forty millions of Rupees, and the population twenty-three millions. This population must consume food with 150 millions of Rupees annually. Then (if the same proportion as at Mynpurie be taken) the food for cattle and the exports should make up another 100 millions, and if the importation of grain should be found considerable, then it would be clear, that the gross produce of the North Western Provinces must at least equal 250 millions of

Rupees, that is, six times the land revenue. At present, however, we have not the means or the space to enter into this important question. We may, perhaps, return to it on a future occasion. There can be no doubt, that census returns form a most legitimate basis for estimating the produce of a country ; and we cannot help thinking that if full use is made of our elaborate census, the land tax in Upper India will be found even *lighter* than it is supposed to be.

A comparatively small portion of the *Selections* is devoted to revenue matters. The two chief papers relate to the settlements effected in Pergunnah Sukrawah, Zillah Furrukhabad, and Pergunnah Kurnal, Zillah Paneput. Both these settlements were made in assertion of the principle, that while Government may alienate its own fiscal rights in favour of individuals, yet it is bound to protect the proprietors and tenants in such tracts from the arbitrary power of the grantee, and to limit his demand just as its own demand is limited. In the Kurnal case, the grantees, an old Musulman family, had allowed the old village communities to stand. There was, consequently, no difficulty in making a regular settlement with them. In the Sukrawah case, the grantees had, during several generations, uprooted many of the communities, and reduced others to a state of vassalage. A settlement was therefore made only with those communities that survived the grantee's aggression and remained intact. It was impossible to reinstate those that had entirely succumbed to the "force of circumstances." These were, however, confirmed in full possession of any subordinate rights on which they had managed to retain a partial hold. Cases of this description have now, we believe, been disposed of throughout the provinces, and thus the last finishing stroke has been put to the great settlement. Yet we observe that one of the "Lights of the London press" talks of the uncertainty of landed tenures as one of the evils under which India groans. We do not know what this "light" would regard as certainty ; but if the land tenure of the North Western Provinces be uncertain, where every field in an assessed area of 50,000 square miles is accurately mapped, and the rights of every man in an agricultural population of fifteen millions are ascertained and recorded, we despair of the attainment of certainty in any tenure whatsoever.

There is, among the *Selections*, a paper, descriptive of the complicated "Bêj Burâr," which prevails among the communities of Bundelkund. We have also a schedule of the expenditure incurred in the revenue survey, and settlement of the North Western Provinces, a document which would only

interest professional readers, but which must be very useful to the authorities in the Punjab, where survey and settlement are in progress.

Among the papers which relate to the criminal department, the most interesting is a minute on trial by jury, by Mr. H. Lushington, who has lately retired from the Sudder Bench at Agra. This is, in our opinion, the best written passage in the book. Its purpose was to extend the operation of the Jury Act of 1832. The arguments are laid down with much cogency and perspicuity, and the details are elaborated with practical discernment. Indeed, the matter is essentially one of detail. If the detailed working of a jury law were to be neglected, the institution would soon fall into contempt. That the employment of juries would elevate national morals, and aid in the judicial discovery of truth, will be admitted on all hands. The question is this, can native jurymen be trusted? Few would contend, that at present they could be implicitly trusted, as the English jurors are. Many experienced men would deny that they could be trusted at all. And it is generally believed, that the first Jury Act has failed to serve any beneficial purpose. Yet, Mr. Lushington most justly urges, the Indian punchyets precisely correspond with British juries; perhaps, the only constitution in which the two nations agree. Every one knows that the natives would settle a multitude of (to them) most important disputes by these means.

The power and respect enjoyed by these private tribunals is unquestionable, it cannot be then that the natives are, by nature, incapacitated for juridical duties. The desideratum is to make a native jury as valuable as a native punchyet. The qualities, distinctive of the punchyet, ought to be ascertained, and these, if possible, imparted to the jury. The elements of success should be extracted, as it were, from the one institution, and infused into the other. Let the people thoroughly understand, that no new-fangled doctrine is being forced into operation, but that the old time-honored principle of punchyet is being embodied into our criminal administration. We believe that, generally, the jurymen assembled under the regulations of 1832, have not been men who would have been useful or approved members of punchyets. They have generally been residents of the cities, or hangers on of the courts. Now the members of punchyets are men of local knowledge and influence, and are amenable to the public opinion in the little world of their own neighbourhood. One great object should be, to get such men as these to serve on juries. This could only

be done by taking a wide field of selection, and by summoning jurors from all parts of the districts. In the manner recommended by Mr. Lushington, the judges can always select particular classes of men to try particular kinds of cases. There are some cases in which respectable zemindars are likely to try well and sincerely; and other cases more fit to be tried by merchants and shop-keepers. The objection, that jurors must be summoned at the shortest notice, otherwise they will be tampered with, is disposed of by Mr. Lushington, who proposes, that there should be regular assizes, at which a number of cases can be tried together, and so that no jurymen could know what case he would have to try. Nor is there any force in the objection that jurymen attend unwillingly. Even in England, they attend with reluctance. Mr. Lushington advocates the employment of juries in the criminal trials held by the magistrates; but the practical objections to this are endless. Mr. Lushington points them out without suggesting a remedy. Perhaps no remedy could be found except the separation of police and magisterial functions. Lastly, he holds the doctrine, that the verdict should not be final, but that it should be set aside only by a special order of the Sudder Court, on a representation from the judge. Most of the principles laid down by Mr. Lushington, were embodied in a draft published during 1849, which might, we think, form the foundation of an excellent law for the regulation of trial by jury. Mr. Lushington does not recommend the employment of juries in civil suits; partly, because these causes frequently turn more upon law than upon fact, and partly, because the constant summoning of jurymen would prove burdensome to the community. But he would admit, that when the decision depends upon discrimination of evidence, native assessors would be valuable auxiliaries. In the Punjab, arbitrators have been extensively employed, and recourse to arbitration is still enjoined. This arbitration amounts to much the same thing, as the employment of juries. We are not aware that attendance has been considered irksome by the people. On the contrary, the scheme is likely to be popular, provided that the punchyets are well controlled by the judicial officer. But if there is the slightest laxity in this respect, the institution is lowered in the eyes of the public, and the administration of justice passes away from the judges, into the hands of irresponsible assessors.

The papers on the Chokidari Assessments of Shahjehanpore and Bareilly, are useful, as showing how the introduction of a measure, which has, from first to last, given rise to insurrections

and law-suits in the Supreme Courts, and all manner of horrors, may, after all, be peacefully effected. It is fortunate that both instances should be taken from Rohilkund, and that one should be Bareilly, the very city where, forty years ago, the towns-people rose in rebellion against the tax-gatherers. In both cases the chief instruments of success were equity of assessment, and collection, and the good constitution of the taxing committees. Of the two rival methods, namely, house tax and town duties, the former is, theoretically at least, the best, because it can be assessed in exact proportion to the amount and value of the property protected. But its unpopularity, particularly as contrasted with the popularity of the town duties, should make us hesitate with regard to its indiscriminate adoption. However, the town duties are not fair, as a system of police tax. The system is popular, because it relieves the Burghers, at the expense of the uncomplaining traders, who have to pay, indirectly, duties for the watch and ward of a city where they do not reside. We trust, that as time goes on and civilization spreads, other cities will become as reasonable as Shahjehanpore and Bareilly.

We find two papers on thugs, and professional thieves—the one paper shows how some of the petty and *childish* states of Central India, which bask in the sunshine of British protection, have been harbouring and maintaining gangs of thieves, that had established branch firms, and extended their connexion from Bombay to Calcutta. The other paper is instructive, as showing how bands of men may be formed, and organized, who begin by gambling and sharpening, till they go on to murder and robbery, thus displaying all the villany of thuggism, without its dark superstition or its mysterious clan-ship. A similar kind of pseudo-thuggi, has been lately discovered to have existed for many years past in the Punjab.

There are two papers relating to the Cawnpore district; the one treats of the organization of the police and the arrangements for the protection of property, and the comfort of travellers along the Grand Trunk Road. On this subject we need not now expatiate, as we discussed it in a former article (*vide Calcutta Review No. XXVIII., article on History and Statistics of Cawnpur.*) The other paper shows how the inhabitants of the whole district were induced to adopt an uniform standard of weights. To secure such a desirable uniformity has always been regarded as a delicate and difficult matter. Magistrates are, by law, prohibited from interfering authoritatively.

We have classed several papers under the head of "Miscellaneous," the most important among which is a report by

Mr. Robert Fortune, on the tea plantations of Dehra and Kumaon. This gentleman had travelled in China during the year 1846, as botanical collector to the London Horticultural Society, and had embodied the result of his journey in a pleasing volume entitled *Wanderings in China*. He was deputed on a second expedition in 1848, by the Court of Directors, to procure the best samples of the tea plant, and also manufacturers and implements for the Indian plantations. Having procured these desiderata, he was requested by the Agra Government to visit and report on the Himalayan nurseries. The first portion of the report describes each plantation in detail, the second part descants on the prospects of the cultivation, and offers suggestions for its improvement.

Mr. Fortune justly considers that the object of the cultivation is to furnish tea for Indian consumption. The notion of India supplying the home market would be chimerical. If we cannot manage to supersede the cotton of America, we are not likely to supplant the tea of China. He thinks that the Indians resemble the Chinese in their diet and habits, and thence he concludes that the one might well learn to use the beverage which has proved so beneficial to the other. "A Chinaman," he says, "hates plain water; and thinks it unwholesome." We believe that in India the drinking water is often deleterious, and no doubt the Chinese beverage would promote the health and comfort of the people. Only they must get it cheap: as Mr. Fortune says, they must buy it at four-pence or six-pence a pound, instead of four or six shillings. But it is, we presume, certain that none but the hill districts of India will produce tea. Now could these districts ever produce tea in such quantities as to render it an article of daily consumption? We have not sufficient data to answer this question. The amount of land under tea cultivation in the North Western Provinces is as yet insignificant. In the absence of precise statistics we gather from Mr. Fortune's report, that the present aggregate area of the plantations, both public and private, is about 650 acres. Mr. Fortune testifies, however, that there are many thousand acres fit for tea cultivation in the districts of Dehra and Kumaon. The annexation of the Punjab has placed some important hill tracts at our disposal. We understand that the districts of Kangra and Kulú are well suited, and that of their cultivated area, twenty-five per cent. might be devoted to tea. There are already some incipient plantations near Dhurmsala. Then we have the Rawul Pindi district, the Peshawar territory, and the Hazara valleys. Perhaps also the Maharaja Golab Sing might, in emulation of Messrs. Wilson, Browne and Co., do something in the Flowery Pekoe and Souchong line; and the Chinese herb may yet be in-

cluded amongst the countless products of the Kashmir Paradise. The inferences which Mr. Fortune draws are encouraging ; his experience confirms most of the conjectures hazarded some years ago by Dr. Royle. The Himalayan climate and temperature, though differing in some respects from that of China, he thinks favourable. The resemblance between the vegetables of the two countries he describes as striking. The varieties of the herb heretofore in use are inferior—the implements and manufacturers clumsy ; but these defects have all been remedied. Several errors were pointed out—in some instances the plantations seem to have been saturated with water, as if they had been rice lands. This treatment Mr. Fortune considers erroneous. The Chinese never use irrigation. The plant can never be reared in flat or moist ground, as seems to have frequently been tried in India. The leaves also should not be plucked too early.

We have among the *Selections* a memorandum on the method pursued in the revenue survey of these provinces. But all treatises, on this subject, have been superseded by the “ Manual of surveying,” which has taken its place as a standard work.

The only medical paper in this *Selection*, is the report on the dispensaries of the Bareilly district, by Dr. Balfour, Assistant Surgeon. Its vicinity to the pestilential Terai, renders this locality particularly suitable for the establishment of dispensaries. Besides the central dispensary, three branch dispensaries were set up, and placed under the charge of qualified native doctors. Aid was afforded by Government, and private subscriptions were raised by the European residents and by wealthy native landholders. The average number of patients receiving relief, ranged from forty to eighty-five daily, in each institution. In one branch dispensary, 28,378 cases were entertained, during a period of three years and seven months. In another, 7,363 cases in one year and seven months ; in a third, 2,170 cases in five months. Country medicines were dispensed, and common injuries treated, but no serious operations were performed. Each establishment cost about 650 Rupees per annum. Among other benefits, vaccination has been introduced,\* although the district had afforded many melancholy instances of the prejudices felt against this remedy, by the natives of a country perpetually ravaged by small pox. That the benefits of dispensaries might be extended at a trifling cost to every pergunnah in the provinces, seems clear from Dr. Balfour's paper. Country medicines are very cheap ; and a first class native doctor on twenty-five rupees a month, is not an expensive functionary. The rate of salary seems to us very low, if much competency is to be expected from the practitioner. Both salary and qualification

might, no doubt, be augmented with advantage. In the Bareilly district, the average cost of relief seems to have amounted to something less than two annas. It would not be easy to raise subscriptions from the native community for this purpose; but means might, from time to time, be collected. Where sub-assistant surgeons are placed in charge of dispensaries, they should strive to popularize the scientific knowledge they have acquired in the Medical College, and to make themselves practically useful.

The formation of native libraries in Nimar is the subject of one letter. The most gratifying fact in this narrative is this, that, in several places, the natives, of their own accord, without any instigation, founded libraries, and built school-rooms. In several districts of Central India, native education has received an impulse; in none more than in Sehore and Bhopal, under the auspices of Mr. Wilkinson, and Captain Cunningham, both, alas, snatched away by early death, from the sphere of usefulness. It is, perhaps, superfluous to observe, that these volumes contain but little on the subject of education, because full justice has been done to this important subject, in the mass of documents which have from time to time been given to the public.

Under the head of mineralogy, (a branch of practical science, which has made an onward stride of late years) we must notice a brief report on some graphite deposits near Almorah. The author, Major Drummond, is favorably known as a mineralogist. In 1838, he was appointed to examine the mineral resources of Kumaon and Gurhwal, and especially the copper and iron mines. For this purpose he brought out, at his own expense, a working Cornish miner, on whom, eventually, the entire investigation devolved, when Major Drummond rejoined his regiment, which had been ordered on service to Affghanistan. The reports and papers on these mines have been collected and re-printed in the *Statistical Report of Kumaon*. We commend them to the reader's attention; as the development of the Himalayan mineral resources is a matter of obvious and practical importance. Among these productions is a species of plumbago. Its excellence had been known, ever since Capt. Herbert's mineralogical survey in 1826. During his residence at Almorah, in 1830, Major Drummond discovered some traces of graphite beds near his house, and was appointed by the Government to prosecute the research. The deposits appear to be of large extent and fair quality. But Major Drummond does not think they can bear comparison with the Borrowdale mine of Cumberland. Appended to the report are some remarks of practical value, by W. Rose, the mineralogist to whom the specimens were submitted. The mineral is chiefly used for reducing the friction



of machinery, for burnishing metals, and for the manufacture of pencils. The first mentioned use is the most important. Major Drummond considers that it may be applied also to the protection of the wood and iron works of bridges, inasmuch as the Americans use it as a preservative of wood.

We shall now conclude our notice of these *Selections*. In the course of this review, we have glanced at a considerable variety of subjects. But it must not be supposed that we have traversed the whole field of public improvement and enterprise in Upper India, or that we have touched upon all the publications issued by the Agra Government. Many subjects of deep importance, on which the greatest attention and interest have been bestowed, and with which the Government is most thoroughly identified, find no place among the *Selections*. A stranger might be tempted to exclaim, "what has become of education, of the Ganges canal, of the Rurki college, of prison discipline, of municipal and sanatory improvements, of the arrangements for the protection of travellers, and the furnishing of supplies, that nothing is said about them?" But in good truth, upon all these subjects, pamphlets and brochures, innumerable serials, annuals, quartos and octavos; have already been published. For the last fifteen years, the stream of publication has been continuous. On revenue, on statistics, on education, we have as much printed information as could be desired, and an idea can be formed of the extent to which knowledge, on public affairs, has been diffused by the printing press, when it is considered that these *Selections* comprise only one item in a long catalogue of publications.

Publications, such as those under review, most useful though they are, have yet a tendency to make us over-estimate actual results, and to suppose that things are no sooner thought of than done. But in India how vast is the interval between the conception, and the execution of philanthropic designs. If we reflect upon the various subjects suggested by the *Selections*, we shall see how many matters yet remain to be thought of. How many existing ideas are in an embryo state, how much theory has yet to be reduced to practice. That schemes of progress will ever be originated by the natives of India, is hopeless. The first requisite is, that the Government should frame designs and start the execution. The next requisite is, that popular co-operation should be secured. No Government can, unaided, elevate its subjects; it may take the initiative, but the work can only be successfully prosecuted by private means. These *Selections* amply show, that the first desideratum has been attained, but they cannot always show what advance has been made towards the attainment of the second. Still all well-

wishers to India will see, from the lengthy series of documents published in the North Western Provinces, that there is a fermentation going on in the minds of public men of all grades and denominations, which must portend a good day coming. It is now more than ever necessary, that zeal and energy should be sustained in India, that the sacred fire should be kept alive and glowing—inasmuch as the present race of statesmen in England will never be induced to bestow on the East more than a languid and transitory attention. Where are now the successors of those statesmen who, three generations back, “schooled themselves to think and feel like Hindus, in order that they might present to Parliament a picture of the condition and the sufferings of India?” Could these mighty assailants of the Indian Governors, during the eighteenth century, behold the land as it now is, they would still raise their voice for further reform; but yet they would study, with earnest pleasure, the published record of what has been done. But we have little hope that these things will occupy the attention of either of the parliamentary committees now assembled to take an account of the Company’s stewardship. How few of the schemes, nostrums, panaceas, or crotchets that have been propounded, in any way concern the welfare of the people! While statesmen in England, charged to legislate for India, amuse themselves with such things as the reduction of Leadenhall-street bureaucracy, the details of directorial patronage, the appointment of Commanders-in-Chief, the retention or abolition of Councils at the minor Presidencies, the constitution of the Court of Proprietors, the strength of our clerical establishment, the number of Queen’s regiments serving in the East,—in most of which matters the “mild Hindu,” doubtless, feels a lively interest,—statesmen in India are left unaided, to consider how the administration may be improved, how taxation may be modified, how education may be diffused, how inland navigation may be conducted, how mineral resources may be developed, how the thirsty land may be irrigated by canals, how the plains may be threaded by roads and railways, and the rivers spanned by bridges, how the scattered sections of the empire may be found together by the lightning communication of the electric telegraph! •It is all well—exceedingly desirable—that the patronage should be regulated in the best manner possible, that the power of Government should be distributed in the most unexceptionable proportions between Boards and Courts, and Councils, Supreme and Local; but in so far as the interests of the people are concerned, there are matters more important than these.

ART. IV.—*India in Greece ; or truth in Mythology, containing the sources of the Hellenic race ; the Colonization of Egypt and Palestine ; the Wars of the Grand Lama ; and the Budhistic Propaganda in Greece. By E. Pococke, Esq. London and Glasgow. 1852.*

THE present are certainly the days of rapid intercourse. There is a restless spirit amongst engineers, merchants, and trading companies, which is staggered by no obstacles, is daunted by no dangers, and regards no expense. To obtain a sure and constant communication between the East and the West, time and money will be readily sacrificed. But the mental activity which forms grand conceptions, and the persevering energy which carries them out, are not confined solely to companies of utilitarians. Traces of the same haste and boldness are now seen to invade the departments of philology and scholarship. An overland communication must be shown to have been carried on between Greece and India, two or three thousand years ago. There are here difficulties to be encountered, and triumphs to be achieved, as remarkable as any which have ever illustrated the career of navigators and engineers. Learning has to solve difficult problems, to bridge over yawning chasms, to connect broken chains, if she would prove incontestably the identity of two distant nations at a period anterior to the commencement of history. To demonstrate that India migrated almost bodily into Hellas, that the Rajputs settled in Thessaly, may turn out to be as hard as to construct the promised railroad, which, passing by Bagdad and, crossing Belochistan, is to bring the untravelled Londoner in eight or ten days to Bombay. There is, however, this difference between the two undertakings, that, while both are equally grand in appearance, the one must imperatively stake an enormous amount of capital, and demand a vast deal of science, and a great exercise of discretion, judgment, and sound good sense. Failure will be tantamount, perhaps to ruin, certainly to ridicule or disgrace. But the other, or the mental undertaking, stakes no capital, but that of the intellect, and can incur no loss, but that of scholarly reputation. The proposers of the gigantic railroad above alluded to, and Mr. Pococke, the author of the work before us, whom we have been led to link together, are obviously not starting on an equality. There is no check to rash adventure, which can at all compare with the prospect of a drained exchequer, and a bankrupt notoriety.

To be serious, we took up the work, whose title we have prefixed to this paper, with some expectation of deriving

pleasure therefrom. It would be gratifying, we thought, to know how far the connection between India and Greece had been ascertained by diligent, laborious, and patient investigation: to see exactly the limits of our knowledge and of our ignorance: to discern where the enquirer was treading on firm and solid ground, and where he was still picking his way, with doubt and hesitation, over a tract infested with quicksands. We should have sympathized with a man who had mistrusted the proverbial delusions of a long-cherished theory, who had tested, by every criterion in his power, the conclusions he had arrived at by a searching examination, who had gratefully acknowledged the previous labours, and bowed to the authority of all the great directors of historical analysis. It would have been satisfactory to know the languages such a man had mastered, the medals he had consulted, the chronological tables he had pored over, the libraries he had ransacked. But, instead of the cautious doubt, the modest diffidence, the deference to the expressed opinions of German and English philologists, which generally characterize the performances of real scholars, we find in Mr. Pococke's volume, a series of extravagant theories and fancied resemblances, set forth with an habitual intolerance and an over-weening presumption, of which, in the nineteenth century, we should have thought any writer incapable.

We know nothing whatever of Mr. Pococke, except from his present work. But as he is not one of those persons who will allow their light to be hidden, and as he takes good care to make abundant references in his volume to his own literary performances, past and yet to come, we are enabled to present our readers with a sort of summary of a part of his literary career. We find then, from the dedication of the work, that a stranger, whom we must infer to be the author himself, had a casual interview with Mr. H. H. Wilson, the great orientalist. An intimation that the said interview was characterized on Mr. Wilson's part "by much urbanity," leaves us in doubt, whether the same is to be said of Mr. Pococke or the stranger himself; and whether he be not one of those obtrusive individuals who persist in introducing a favourite theory at all places and times, and in every society, to the confusion of all pleasant intercourse. After the interview the stranger found himself committed to a "pledge" of tracing "to their true sources, the pilgrim fathers of the Hellenic race." The appearance of the present volume is, to a certain extent, the redemption of that pledge: and we are thus benefitted by an "historical sketch of the fortunes of the Western Pandions of Athens, the Hellenes

‘ or chiefs of the Hela in Greece, the Cashmerians of Bœotia and ‘ of the Thessalian Himalayas!’ The above words are Mr. Pococke’s own. The work is dedicated, as might be expected, to Mr. Wilson, the honoured Tricala of oriental literature, a phrase which we can best explain to un-oriental readers, by referring them to that curious old man of the sea, who could take all shapes at will, that of a tree, a tiger, or a bear, who was venerated by nymphs and consulted by enquiring strangers, like Mr. Pococke, and who knew all things:—

*Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, quæ mox ventura trahantur.*

The qualifications brought by the author to the performance of the task above briefly described, are, that he is, we doubt not, a fair classic: a poet, in spite of gods and columns, for he gives us sundry extracts from manuscript translations and original pieces: that he has some knowledge of Persian and Sanscrit: that he has written articles for the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, (which fact of itself certainly indicates a position in the literary world at home,) that he is possessed of an extraordinary admiration for Buddhists and Rajputs, and that he unites to a boldness in theorizing, a power of surmounting difficulties, such as would appal other less ardent travellers, and a facility for mixing up old things and new, for fusing together the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic languages, such as we should have thought incredible in this age of historical investigation and common sense. We should add, too, that with the confidence inspired by past triumphs, with the growing ardour fostered by discoveries in Grecian history, our author, as he himself informs us, is now busied with two works, which will, no doubt, amaze the literary world, the one being the early history of Great Britain, and the other the early history of Rome. The first work is to include—much to the astonishment of those officers who fought in Afghanistan, and who will learn, for the first time, that they were then fighting against their own countrymen—the settlement of the Affghan tribe in Scotland, and of the Hibernas or Hya tribes in Ireland. And the second will contain the sources of the Roman policy and religion; and may, if we are to judge from the depreciating notices in the volume before us of many eminent scholars, prove Niebuhr’s unrivalled sagacity and almost boundless learning, to have been, on many occasions, entirely at fault. To this we can only say that if another such tissue of fanciful theories, enunciated with such amazing confidence, is to result from a “casual interview” between Mr. Pococke and the great Avatâr of Sanscrit literature and Hindu philosophy, we have only to pray, that

the next stranger from the East who may fall in Mr. Pococke's way, may be the dullest civilian who ever blundered over a revenue settlement, or the most unimaginative subaltern whose thoughts never went beyond his company in prospect, or his monthly pay. It is too bad that the mere sight of taste, research, powers of criticism, and genuine scholarship, united in one man, should impel another who possesses nothing of the kind, to the undertaking and completion of such a precious performance as the present.

But we feel that it is time to lay before our readers, as succinctly as we can, a statement of Mr. Pococke's theories as to the mode in which India obtained a footing in Greece, and of the reasoning by which his views are supported. The following remarks then appear to us to convey, with fairness and accuracy, a summary of the main points of his creed.

Language, and the names which language has given to the grand features of nature, cannot lie. Cities and dynasties, temples and towns, may be swept away by the usual vicissitudes of conquest and spoliation, but language can neither perish irrecoverably, nor utter an uncertain sound. Names once given to mountains, seas, and rivers, endure for ever, and when appealed to practically, will correctly indicate their original colonists or inhabitants. But, unfortunately, the early Hellenic etymologists of some 3,000 years ago, finding a series of names already given to mountains, rivers, and so forth, the precise meaning of which they could not expound, bethought themselves of translating these names into the language of Homer; and when they had thus translated them, or to speak more correctly, when they had altered meaningless strange words to such Greek words nearest to them in sound, as possessed some meaning, they proceeded to invent, in support of the change, some story or myth about a hero, a god, or a strange tribe, grasshoppers, centaurs, and the like. In this way the early Greeks, with their lively imagination, and their poetical tendencies, finding in the names of a hundred streams and hills the remnants of the old Pelasgian language, which they could not, or cared not, to explain, or of whose very existence they were ignorant, immediately sought the explanation thereof in their own full, copious, and sonorous tongue. There was no difficulty in this, where the exponent of thought was so flexible, and the expounders surrendered all their judgment to their fancy, and paid no regard to philology. Accordingly, myths sprang up every where at the bidding of these enchanters. No hill without its appropriate legend; no valley unadorned by some tale of prowess or woe. Rapidly caught up by the early epic poets, they

were transmitted to the second or lyric age of Greek poetry, and aided by the lyre, obtained for ever a permanent abiding place. In this way rose the Centaurs, the Serpent Pytho, Cadmus and the dragon's teeth, Zeus and Apollo, the Pierian Muses and Cecrops, the Tettiges or grasshoppers, the monster Gorgons, the builders of Cyclopiian walls.' So far, however, from these being fictions, they are, every one of them, "as real as King Harold," and the localities whence they issued in the Punjab, in Behar, in Affghanistan or Cashmere, are all capable of identification with extreme minuteness. The theory is not satisfied with a simple appeal to great and striking similarities, or with a basis of broad distinguishing characteristics, or with arguments resting on those probabilities of an early connection with the East, which even reason finds it difficult to discard. A jealous scrutiny into language, undertaken without a shade of doubt,—a series of experiments, pursued without the slightest mistrust, have resulted in the compilation of two maps, which give—not large and ill-defined tracts in Asia and in Europe corresponding to each other—but ridges and valleys, towns and streams in East and West, about the identity of which there can be no more reasonable doubt, than there can be doubt that the disinterred city of Pompeii is really the Roman city which was buried in ashes during the first century of our era. In order that the reader may not fatigue himself with a desultory comparison of the places in the Oriental map, with the corresponding places in the European map, the author has taken the trouble to give to each locality in each map its duplicate title: that by which it was known to ignorant Greeks, and is still known to unenlightened Europeans, and that additional one which Mr. Pococke's research and discernment have triumphantly assigned to it. Thus, to quote the author, or to explain our meaning more clearly, the map of Affghanistan and the adjacent countries shows the corresponding settlements of the Hela chiefs, or the Hellenes, the Casopæi or Cashmerians, the Bhutias (Buddhists) or Thibetans, the Othryans or Himalayans, the chiefs of the Oxus, the Lama tribes, the Philistines, the Tartar tribes, &c., &c., in Greece, Palestine, and Egypt. When we have fully satisfied ourselves of the various starting points of Greeks and Philistines, gods and kings, nymphs and grasshoppers, we next come to the map of Greece—*extra Peloponnesum*—to use the phraseology of the old school Atlas—and we find there the whole tableau re-produced, on the high lands of Thessaly, by the shores of the Ægean sea, and in the country of Alexander and Philip. India has fairly got into Greece; and we can discern

the "primitive colonization of the country from the provinces of the Indus, the Ganges, the Himalayan mountains, Tibet, Cashmir and the Oxus." Our readers may be startled at this assurance, but a broad view, such as we have given in Mr. Pococke's own words, conveys no adequate notion of the extreme distinctness and accuracy with which men and tribes are re-produced, and have their dwellings assigned to them by the waters of the Peneus, the oaks of Dodona, the seven tides of the Euripus, and the oracles of Delphi. We give a few specimens of Mr. Pococke's metamorphoses. The Pelasgi came from Pelasa in Behar, and Pelasa is nothing more or less than the Butea Frondosa! Macedonia is derived from Magadha, the well-known Sanscrit name for Southern Behar! The Greek word, *Pāsa*, to which Æschylus had such an Homeric attachment, is not the earth at all, but Gāyāji! the revered of Bengalis and up-country devotees, the old capital of the above province. The Cyclops, who built those massive and stupendous structures, which like Stonehenge, or the great sewers at Rome, appear to defy speculation and antiquarian research, are simply the Goclapes or Gocla chiefs living on the banks of the Jumna! Attock, the well-known fort on the Indus, to which the last war has given an undying celebrity, is the origin, at one time, of Athens, at another of the word Autochthones, by which the simple-minded Greeks designated the Aborigines of the soil. The Behút or Jhelum sends forth the Baihútians to colonise Bœotia. From the Eubahúyas, a Sanscrit word, signifying mighty-armed men or warriors, comes the island of Eubœa. Argolis means the Arghwalas or people of the Arghasan (!) Sperchius, a name hitherto foolishly derived from *σπερχω* to hasten, and thought to be expressive of the force of the current, is nothing else than the Ganges or heavenly river, from Swarga. The Cadmei are the Gautamas, or disciples of the great Buddhist. Larissa, the capital of Achilles, is Lahore; and Philip of Macedon signifies a Bhil-prince, and not a lover of horses!

The above are not one-fiftieth part of the changes and transformations which, on Mr. Pococke's invitation, and on a mere similarity of sound, for it is nothing more, we are called on to examine, assent to, and applaud. It would take, not the space usually devoted to one article, but to two or three, were we to endeavour to follow this inquisitive gentleman through all his fantastic speculations on the identity of Cephallenia and Cabul, Elymiotis and Yelum or Jhelum, Epirus and Hya chiefs, Olympus and High Lamas, Tomaros and the great Meru mount. No charlatan at a country fair, before a set of



gaping clowns, ever exhibited such a series of antics. We look in vain for any summary of the learned authorities on whose matured judgment Mr. Pococke might appear to lean: whose theories, carefully devised and patiently tested, he might delight in leading one step further towards the desired goal. Mr. Pococke has not, as he admits himself, proceeded on the plan of quoting manuscripts, comparing coins, weighing authorities, or using any of those numerous helps which, in this age of advanced criticism, it is incumbent on all theorists laboriously to use. "As these evidences," he says, "will be found to appeal to the practical sense of every individual, I shall offer no apology for neglecting to support them by classical or modern authorities." The evidences are said to be those of a solid geographical basis. Language then, and geography, are the sole tests to which he appeals, with the exception of a few authors from whom he gives us copious quotations, without extracting the pith and marrow of their researches, or bringing them, calmly and conscientiously, to throw light to his own. We are sensible that it is a very easy thing to throw ridicule on even the soundest discoveries in comparative philology, and that to demolish a theory regarding the identity of two distant regions or races, something more is necessary than to endeavour to raise a laugh at the facility with which consonants are changed and vowels elided, to make Hindu and Greek speak in the same words. We shall, therefore, proceed seriously to state the broad objections to Mr. Pococke's theory in the abstract, previous to pointing out several instances on which his deductions, or rather assumptions, are the very reverse of sound canons and known truths.

Now nothing can be more certain than when one language is transformed into, or becomes mingled in another, the change or admixture, in almost every instance, is marked by certain definite and regular rules. There may be some irregularities: there may be exceptions, violations of precedent, harsh shocks to euphony: strange and unlooked-for abbreviations, combinings of one vowel with another, which the parent language abhors; but still there are certain infallible canons in the metamorphose, to which philologists can appeal with the confidence that such will stand a rigid inquiry. The truth of this position may be seen by reference to any derivative tongue of the East or the West. It is seen in the formation of our language from the Anglo-Saxon: in that of Italian from Latin: in Bengali or Hindi, as derived from that great parent of so many oriental tongues, the Sanscrit. A moderate acquaintance with the original language, and with the rules of fusion, enable men, at a glance,

to look for and to detect the birth-place of many a term in common use. It was in this way that Burnouf and Lassen laid down the laws by which Sanscrit passed into the Pali, in some instances as immutable and as regular in their operation as the laws of Nature herself. And we have a right to demand from such an author as Mr. Pococke, either that he shall adhere rigidly to these philological truths, or that he shall show cause for his deviation from them, in every instance or class of instances. But in the preface we are told that the "Sanskrit scholar will find a few irregularities in that process which I have developed. They are such as belong to a form compounded of the old Pehlvi and the Sanscrit: the latter serving as the basis, and the former as the inflective power." What acquaintance this author may have with the old language of Media, we know not; but we are enabled, from his own showing, to declare that, in many instances, the words which he ingeniously couples with Sanscrit words, are those of the regular Persian language, as it is spoken at this very day. Still further to prevent an unfavourable judgment on his philology, the author tells us that the "apparent irregularities of orthography occurring in connection with the same word, will be found to be more imaginary than real," and that it will be a good thing for all readers to get accustomed to "such variations of form, but not of power, nor of signification." Such varieties, we are told, will, "with few exceptions, be found to arise from the necessity of running parallel with the irregular meanderings of the Hellenic or oriental streams." With such doctrines admitted, what irregularities can be attacked? With such license once granted, to what fair conclusions may we not arrive? But the truth is, that we protest strongly against this claim to derive Greek names from Sanscrit and Persian words conjointly, or even from Sanscrit, unless the derivation shall proceed on known and acknowledged principles of criticism, or until Mr. Pococke shall bring forward some authority for the practice, besides his own bare assertion. On the contrary, we shall insist on the most rigid adherence to the rules by which Sanscrit entirely forms, or augments, or replenishes, the spoken dialects of India, or by which its connection with Greek and Latin or other western languages, has been sought hitherto to be established. Nothing is more deceptive or dangerous than this unlimited credit on a large and flexible language, like the Sanscrit; to say nothing of the aid of another, almost as copious, where Sanscrit may be at fault. If this once be sanctioned, there is hardly any word in the classical languages, for which an equivalent in sound may not be

found in the East, by the aid of a little ingenious transposition. If words largely used in Sanscrit, and consequently of everyday occurrence in its derivatives, are to be unceremoniously taken to form, now the head, and now the tail, of a Greek word, if common endings are to be made beginnings, if Persian plurals are to be affixed to Sanscrit roots, if Sanscrit nouns, not those in general use, but those woven occasionally by some fantastic poet into his elaborate and complex stanzas, are to be assumed, when it suits an author, as the basis of some common Greek fable, or as the name of a tribe, there is no connection which we may not hope to prove. Then the Brahmins or the Buddhists may have been the priests of Delphi, the builders of the Roman Cloacæ, the artificers of Stonehenge, the early colonists of Gaul or Britain. Once allow these gratuitous assumptions to have the force of unquestioned law, and there is no distant region to which we may not lead an eastern colony, no untrod den or uncivilized locality which may not render a faithful testimony to its toils.

It is true that, to find Persian and Sanscrit harmoniously coupled together, we have not far to seek. We need not, for this purpose, go to Greece. We have the example before us in India, here, at our doors. Let a man take up any book on Modern India, let him only spread open before him a map of the British or of native territories, and if he possess but the slightest tincture of oriental literature, he will have no difficulty in recognizing, in a hundred names, the admixture of Persian with Sanscrit. The grand features of nature will retain, indeed, their old nomenclature. The larger tracts of country will recall the fallen dynasties of Hindu sovereigns. The rivers and mountains will speak of a language of unfathomed antiquity, and a period long anterior to history. But the works of man's hand, the villages and towns, the crowded marts, some even of the divisions of the provinces, will all bring before the eye, in a series of tableaux, the march and the settlement of the Mussulman conqueror. In one corner of a district will be found half-a-dozen villages, essentially Hindu in origin and name. In another corner there will be as many more essentially Mohammedan. Then the names of a third class will be half Hindu and half Mohammedan. A dozen illustrations of this last class will be found in the names Cawnpore, Mirzapore, Sheikpore, Rajgunge, Amírpore, and others, which will occur, not only in the more notable towns, distinguished by the above appellations, but in numerous others in any district. It was in this way that Mussulman and Hindu traded in the same mart, settled near the same river or tank, and, formed by constant

intercourse, one common, rich, and polished colloquial dialect. But the very origin of this fusion, which gave us the Urdu language, is not a thousand years old. It cannot, by any possibility, date previous to the inroads of Mahmud of Ghuzni, and before we can permit Mr. Pococke to yoke Persian to Sanscrit, in order that he may account for the origin of some Greek word which was in daily use, at least two thousand years before the age of the said Mahmud, we must have some better authority for the practice than he has yet given us in his cool intimation, that we are to look for a "few irregularities" in this philology made easy.

The truth is, however, that this writer seems to have put chronology entirely on the shelf. Language is to explain itself, and may discard all light thrown on the migrations of great tribes, by a comparison of traditions and early annals, by an enquiry into inscriptions, coins, and other traces of sovereignty, and by the results of the grand discussion as to the priority of the Brahmanical over the Buddhistic religion. Of this controversy, which we conceive is now finally settled in favour of the antiquity of the Brahman, Mr. Pococke seems to be well nigh ignorant. What good authority is there for referring the great struggle between the "high-caste Brahmanical Vedantist," as he is termed in the volume before us, and the worshipper of the one God, the reformer of the old religion, to the primeval wars of the Solar and the Lunar races? Yet this is what we must understand Mr. Pococke to mean in page 161, though he very wisely commits himself to no dates, and runs back, like the praise of beauty in Wordsworth's Russian Fugitive, into the "mists of fabling time." We regret, however, that Mr. Pococke does not show, like the object of the poet's eulogy, any disinclination to climb "along forbidden ways." A copious language, a series of gigantic works, similarities in sound, are quite sufficient for him. Whether Buddha lived about the year 900 before Christ, or in the commencement of the seventh century, or the sixth, as is the opinion of many distinguished orientalists, is matter for no reflexion. The Buddhistic clans—that is, the Lunar race—fought with the Children of the Sun, not merely in India, but in Greece. Buddha is as old as Manu, and Cadmus the Phœnician, the inventor of the Greek alphabet, who, we always thought, flourished in the fifteenth century before our era, or was about cotemporary with the Vedas, is found out to be Gautama, the great apostle of Buddhism, who, we had thought, lived and died somewhere in the sixth century, or about the age of the Grecian Pythagoras.

We must admit that it would be wrong to induce our readers to believe, that the author has made no reference to the writings of other persons on oriental subjects connected with Buddhism and Hindu mythology. On the contrary, old authors and new, travellers in reality and travellers on paper, are occasionally appealed to, whenever any part of their works seems to bear favourable testimony to Mr. Pococke's cause. Thus we have copious extracts from the writings of German philosophers, Bengal Civil Servants, and Grecian historians. We pass rapidly from the Mahawanso of Mr. Turnour, to a lengthened quotation from Mr. Grote; from Csoma De Coros, to an unpublished letter from one English gentleman to another, from Mr. H. T. Prinsep and Mr. Edward Thomas, B. C. S., to the Khiva of Capt. Abbott, and the amusing volumes of M. Huc. The whole of the above are, however, summoned without method, paraded without connection, and dismissed without good result. And if there is one author on whom Mr. Pococke places more reliance than any other, whom he praises, not merely for his attractiveness, but for his sound judgment, that author turns out to be the most unlucky selection, by way of a guide, that any antiquarian or philologist could possibly have made. What do our readers think of Colonel Tod, the accomplished but sanguine author of the Annals of Rajasthan, being chosen as a person to whom Mr. Pococke is "deeply indebted for valuable corroborative proof, and distinct 'illustration of the geographical facts already adduced:" as a man, whose steady convictions, "firmly and ably supported, will 'be found amply established by the practical geographical evidences here laid before the reader;" as one in short who, "undeterred by derision and defeat," has succeeded in establishing theories, which we are to believe, shall stand the test of time as securely as the rock temples of Ellora or the Jain structures of Rajasthan. It is necessary to linger a little more on this part of the subject, in order that, while the merits of such a man as the late Agent for Rajputana are not unduly depreciated, the sagacity of Mr. Pococke in selecting such a guide, may meet with its fair share of praise. Most readers have read or dipped into the ponderous volumes on the annals of Rajputs, which were the result of more than ten years' residence amongst those high-spirited tribes. There is no doubt that their author brought to his task many valuable qualifications. Ardent and enthusiastic, he saw, in the Rajput chieftains, the representatives of the ancient nobility of India. He sympathised keenly with their wants and aspirations: extolled the love of arms, the fondness for adventure, the skill in athletic sports, the daring in the chase

and in the battle, which distinguished not merely the heads of principalities, but even the ordinary villagers: passed slightly over their natural defects, or saw in them only the result of intercourse with the foreigner: watched over their interests, gave prominence to their claims to consideration, and was to them, in all things, a protector and a friend. For months he busied himself in transcribing their annals, and for hours together he could listen to the recitations of their bards. His position, his very duties as a servant of Government, his annual tour in the cold season, all tended to heighten his conviction of their good qualities, his blindness to their defects. Wherever he trod, along the edge of the sandy desert, or on the cool heights of mount Abú, or by the castled summits of Chitúr, he saw the imperishable monuments of the thirty-six royal tribes. Queen-mothers, and high-born ladies, held conversation for hours together with him, behind the usual protection claimed by oriental delicacy. Chieftains greeted him on his return from his annual visitation, with that inborn and dignified courtesy, to which European refinement could literally add nothing, or delighted to exhibit in the presence of the Agent Sahib, their matchless dexterity with the sword or the gun, and to split bullets on knives, actually concealed from their sight!\* For him a dozen pens were constantly transcribing the warlike poems of the last minstrels of Mewar: a dozen loquacious retainers were ever ready to furnish him with long-cherished traditions, accounts of striking feats of heroism, and splendid instances of female devotion unto death. Add to this that, on digesting his copious stores of information, and presenting them to the public, he had, to illustrate his pages, the aid of one of the most accomplished artists that the Indian army, so fertile in talent of every description, has ever produced. The silvery lake, the summer residence during the fierce heats of May, the elegant tracery of a Jain temple, the ruined pillar and the broken shaft, the capital city of a dynasty, whose origin was lost in the twilight of history, the rocky pass, the frowning citadel, the gorgeous palace—all this, which had been duly extolled by the pen of a Tod, was still further set forth in the most attractive colours, by the pencil of a Waugh. It was no wonder that readers should have admired and pitied, when they read the story of the defeat of the flower of Rajput chivalry by the practised battalions of DeBoigne, or gazed on the fortress, the determined gallantry of whose defenders had well nigh checked,

\* This feat was performed by placing the knife in the exact centre of an earthen, or Kedgerree pot, and then aiming at that centre. It required a little extra care, but the attempt was actually successful.

in his full career, the most powerful of Mohammedan emperors. The two volumes on Rajputana were, in short, exactly what the character, position, and idiosyncrasy of their author would have led all readers of judgment to expect. Set off by a lively and attractive style, and replete with much novel information, they are invaluable authorities on every thing that relates to the customs, social habits, mode of speech and address, and way of thinking, prevalent amongst Rajputs. There are stories in them which might have served Dryden for a five-act play, or Scott for a three-volumed novel. They may be trusted implicitly by any reader who should wish to know what ceremonies are observed on the birth, education, and introduction into society, of a young Rajput chieftain: what weapons are best manufactured in the work-shops of Kotah or Jeypore: by what employments the seclusion of a Rajputni is varied: what failings, hereditary or acquired, mar the otherwise fine and manly character of the soldier-peasant: what passes are most accessible; where the march of an invading army could be most readily checked; how lands are irrigated, how crops are sown; and how revenue is raised. But we should put no more faith in the theories broached by this accomplished author as to the origin, migrations, and settlement of ancient dynasties, than in Livy's early traditions of Rome, after they had been laid bare and dissected by the searching hand of Niebuhr. Fair and honest criticism will readily assign to Colonel Tod his proper place as an authority in the history of the Rahtores—sound and trustworthy on one set of subjects—unsafe and insecure on another. We cannot do better than borrow the remarks made on this author by an Indian officer of great acquirements and research. Touching on some of the unsupported assertions made by Colonel Tod, Sir H. M. Elliot says—*Supplemental Glossary*, page 354:—"While, however, we cannot but dissent from several of this author's extravagant surmises and assertions, it would be ungracious not to acknowledge how deeply we are indebted to him for his interesting *Annals of Rajasthan*, a work which contains much novel information, and is a repertory of important facts and traditions, which are invaluable to an enquirer into the history of India, previous to the Mohammedan invasion. He would have conferred a still deeper obligation on us, had he published his promised translation of the poem of Chund Bardai." Backed by such authority, we feel no hesitation in asserting that Mr. Pöcocke, in choosing Colonel Tod as his mainstay, has merely given another proof of his singular unfitness for patient historical research. This is, however, in perfect keeping with the

remainder of the work. The most airy fabric, the most shadowy theory, ever engage his credulity and attract his eye.

We now feel that it is time to proceed to a more minute investigation of the ground on which many of this author's deductions rest. We have already pointed out his unauthorized derivations of Greek words from Persian or Sanscrit, or from parts of both at the same time, just as it happens to suit him. It would have been much safer for Mr. Pococke to have relied on the acknowledged similarity of many of the commonest Persian words to the Sanscrit, and have based his arguments on the broad affinities of these two languages—such, for instance, as occur in the well-known identity of the Persian and Sanscrit terms for *place, name, new, horse, cow, water*, of many of the numerals, and the like. Had he confined himself to some of the indubitable proofs of the connection between the classic and the Indo-Germanic languages, and had reasoned generally on the subject, he would have encountered less danger of refutation on particular points. When he tells us that the Greek despot is nothing but the Sanscrit *Deshapati*, 'the lord of a country;' and that Pythagoras has long been suspected of Buddhism, we give him an entire and unhesitating belief. But his obstinate determination to recognize, at all hazards, an Indian acquaintance in classic dress, to see the towns and cities, the tribes and mountains of Northern India, in the hills and vales of Thessaly, has made the task of exposure one of comparative ease.

One of the first strange derivations which strikes us, is that of the words Hellenes and Hellas. Mr. Pococke (page 49) has not "the slightest doubt," that these names are derived from certain chiefs who, as Rajputs, were all worshippers of the sun, the Greek *helas* and the Sanscrit *hela* being identical. Certainly there is a Sanscrit word *heli*—not *hela*, as the author will have it—which is one of the synonyms for the sun, and there is another word *ina*, which signifies lord or master, but *heli* and *ina* were never joined together, so as to form the word Helaines or Greeks, as the author has it, until he so joined them. Again the Greek word Hellas is to be formed from the two Sanscrit words *hela* and *des*, "the land of the sun" which is equivalent to *Hellados*, which every school-boy must know is the genitive of Hellas. Thus, when it suits a particular theory, the Sanscrit is to be derived into the possessive, and not into the first case of the Greek declension. It is almost unnecessary to say that, for this freak, no authority whatever is adduced.

To the next hypothesis we are, thus gravely introduced,



page 58—"Who could have imagined, that from the present barbarous land of Affghanistan, the elegant, refined, and witty Athenian should have set out! Yet, so it was. The northern course of the Indus was his first home. The Attac, indeed, gave a name to the far-famed province of Attica! The Attac is at present a fort, and a small town on the east bank of the Indus, 942 miles from the sea, and close below the place where it receives the waters of the Cabul river, and first becomes navigable. 'The name,' writes Thornton, 'signifying obstacle, is supposed to have been given to it under the presumption, that no scrupulous Hindoo would proceed westward of it.'" Passing over the minute accuracy which has taken the trouble to mark the exact number of miles from the sea, at which Attock, to use plain language, is situated; and the forgetfulness to note, that by Affghanistan can only be meant the old Dorani empire in its fullest extent, before it was shorn of its possessions, we must remark that this word Attock is well-known to be neither Sanscrit nor Persian. Whether we agree with Thornton, who supposes the term to indicate a barrier set by religious scruples, or with other writers, who take it to mean a barrier against invasion from the Khyber, there can be no doubt that the fort of Attock is identical in sound with the Hindi word (अट्ठक), signifying 'prevention, hindrance.' No one has ever yet attempted to identify it with any of the learned languages of the East. We much doubt, if the word is to be found in any Mahomedan writer 500 years old, and we believe that it is one of those local words peculiar to the dialects of India, and in common and familiar use, no one exactly knows how. But not content with deriving the Greek word Attica—the birth-place of so much that is enduring in philosophy, refinement, and art—from an obscure Hindu vocable, the author goes on to explain the meaning of the word Autochthones, or Aborigines, by saying (page 61) that they were "not Autochthones, sprung from the same earth, but Attac-thans, i. e., the 'people of Attac-land.'" And this precious jumble is attempted to be explained by a solution at the foot of the page, in which the false or Greek word is set down as "Autochthon, the same land," to Grecian ears, and the Sanscrit, or genuine word, as Attac-than, or the Attac-land, to the ears of all true and rational philologists. Thus Mr. Pococke, to explain a theory to the truth of which he had pledged himself, links together an unknown Hindi, and a common Sanscrit word, and gives to the latter the form of the English plural, in order to bring out more strongly the similarity of the whole in sound to the classic Autochthones! A similar absurdity is perpetrated

a page or two further, or where we are told that the Tettiges or grasshoppers, about which term the early Greeks had a pleasing and ingenious fable, is derived from Tatta, the town in Scinde, of which Tattaikes, or *τάρταϊκες* is merely a derivative form. As usual, there is no single authority for this piece of absurdity.

In page 75 occurs a crowning piece of fatuity. After expressing an opinion that the river Arghasan, in the province of Sarawan, near Affghanistan, gave its name to the province of Argos (we had thought that Argos was a town and not a province), he proceeds to say that "be this as it may, certain it is, that those who lived in the district of Arghas were called 'Argh-walas (Arg-olis) or inhabitants of Arghas," and then in a note is added, "Arghasan is evidently the Persian plural of Arghas," and "wala (in composition) a keeper, inhabitant, man, &c., as dhooth-wala, milk-man; naw-wala, boat-man; 'Dilli-wala, inhabitant of Delhi." Can this author be in earnest? Is he not amusing himself with the proverbial credulity of untravelled Englishmen? The use of the word *wala*, in composition, is familiar enough to every one here. It answers, in its use and appliances, something of the purpose of our English word *fellow*, which it is not wholly unlike in sound. But it is old Hindi again, and has no recognised affinity with either Persian or Sanscrit. Yet there is nothing in the place where the above extract occurs, to indicate that Mr. Pococke had the least suspicion that this handy conventional phrase, the grand resource of gentlemen and ladies who speak the Vernacular imperfectly, and in whose behalf it does excellent service, was not cast in the purest antique mould. Conceive the name of a Grecian province, as old, and almost as famous as the Trojan war, being derived from a river in a mountainous country to the north of India, coupled to a phrase current only in India, and unknown to any classical eastern tongue! Mr. Pococke might as well have said at once that Argolis was derived from *ag-wala*, fire-man. It would have been equally correct in comparative philology and as similar in sound.

In page 82 we are told that the mountain chain of Pindus, forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, takes its name from the Pind, that is to say, from a place which the transactions of the last three years have made familiar to us as Pind Dadun Khan. It is our belief, but we speak in this instance with some little diffidence, that the word Pind is local and peculiar to the Punjab, where it simply means a village, as Rawul Pindee, the village of Rawul; Pind Dadun Khan, the village of Dadun Khan. This, at least, we have heard of

authority, much more respectable than that of Mr. Pococke, and one which has probability in its favour. It is quite certain too, that the term is not Sanscrit in its origin.

In page 84 we are treated to a new derivation of the word Achelous, the river, in whose fight with the hero Hercules, Gibbon saw merely the contention which must ensue when the aboriginal inhabitant comes in contact with an invading or settling colonist. "The Ac-Helous or Hela's water, 'the largest river in Greece, and so named from the Hela mountains in Scinde, traverses the whole country from north to south, like the Indus in the Punjab:" and then in a note the derivation is given as "Aca, water; Helavas, the people of the Hela mountains. The form Helavas becomes 'Helawas or Helous." Now Aca is not water, neither in Persian nor in Sanscrit. The word in the former language is *ab*, and in the latter, *āpa*. But *p* to *c*, or any transformation of a troublesome letter, is a mere trifle when it suits this accomplished conjuror.

In page 93 Thessalia is said to be "a Greek euphonism for 'Des-Shalia or 'the land of Shal,' Shal for the convenience 'of pronunciation spelt Shawl." This land is not, as might be supposed by the unlearned, the territory of Maharajah Gulab Sing, but an elevated valley near the Bolan Pass. Unluckily, however, when the well known Sanscrit word *des* or *desh* is used in company with another name to indicate the abode or locality of a certain tribe, it forms the latter part of the compound word, and not the commencement of it. Thus we have in India Kalinga-des, and Or-des or Orissa, and by this rule, which we have reason to believe a sound rule, the 'land of Shal' would be Shal-des, and how is Thessaly to come out of this, unless we have recourse to another dexterous transposition, or to Mr. Pococke's usual sneer at the frivolity and puerility of the Greeks? That the word *desh* does in compound words occasionally form the first syllable, we readily admit, but in such cases it will be found that the term is one of general import, and does not denote any land or province in particular. The terms in which it does so occur as *deshadharma*, *deshavyavahara*, local law, and local usage, or the like, will be familiar enough to any orientalist.

A similar unauthorised transformation occurs in the same place, where we learn that Callidromos, a place near Thermopylæ, is "interpreted first into Sanscrit and next into English," Cul-ait-Ramas, tribe of Oude-Ramas, "the mythology, history, language, and worship of these Ramas, reaching with one arm to Rama, with the other to Peru." This is, indeed, fulfilling

the injunction of the opening lines of the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, to an extent never contemplated by Dr. Johnson. But the truth is, that the tribe of Oude-Ramas, were such a combination usual in Sanscrit, would be Oude-Rama-Cul or Ram-Oude-Cul. The fact of the matter is, however, that no such union ever did come to pass of any of the three words thus unceremoniously yoked together "heads and points, in the same truckle-bed."

Mount Othrys in Thessaly is next declared to be the Odryes of India; and Odrys is stated to be the Sanscrit name of the Himalaya as king of mountains, *Adris* being composed of *Adri*, a mountain, and *is* a king, by the rules of combination, *Adris*. Now *Adri* is certainly a mountain, but *is* is not a king, and no such combination as *Adris* occurs in Wilson. There is *Adripati*, 'king of mountains,' and there is *Himadri*, 'mountain of snow,' but it was left for Mr. Pococke to add to the copiousness of this wonderful language by a few extra synonymes of his own. Then again we have a little variety in the shape of a derivation from the Persian. The *Apidanus* is said (page 100) to be the water of Danu, viz., *Ap-i-Danu*. There is no mistaking the connecting link of these two words as pure and undefiled Persian. But *ap* is not Persian. The Persian word for water is, of course, *ab*, the Sanscrit is *apa*. Yet a little before this we were told that *aca* was water in Sanscrit, and now we have *ap*, which is neither Persian nor Sanscrit, linked to what is the sign of the genitive or possessive case in the former language. These are, indeed, a few of the "irregularities" which we were prudently told would be found in the process to be developed.

One of the combinations in which this author takes great delight, and which he reproduces on several occasions, after its first discovery, is that of the *Hi*, or *Hya* Budhas. These men were originally (page 103) of the Lunar race, then they appear as the *Druopes*, next as our own *Druids*, and, lastly, as the colonizers of the *Ebudes*, by which we must understand the isles of the *Hebrides* or *Western isles*. Now for the derivation. *Haya*, says Mr. Pococke, is horse, and *Budha* is *Bud-dha*, that is, 'wise,' so the whole together must mean the "tribe of the wise horses," or "the tribe of horses of the wise." It is impossible, that, if the combination have any meaning, it can mean any thing else. Whether this sagacious tribe have any reference to the *Houhynnyms* of *Gulliver*, we are left to guess. The dexterity of the whole combination, however, finds an exact parallel in one of Dr. Johnson's well known derivations, which, with the reasoning by which it was confuted, seems so exactly to bear on the present case, that we shall

quote both. The great lexicographer, it seems, being at a loss to explain the etymology of the word Pageant, and finding nothing elucidatory on the subject in the works of previous etymologists, gravely set down the following as the origin of the word.

"Pageant—of this word the etymologists give us no satisfactory account. It may, perhaps, be *payen géant*, a Pagan giant: a representation of triumph used at return from holy wars, as we have yet the Saracen's Head."

On this unfortunate attempt at solving a difficulty, Horne Tooke, in his *Diversions of Purley*, gives the following just commentary:—"Undoubtedly we have in London the sign of the Saracen's Head. Undoubtedly *payen* is French and *géant* is French—but these words, *payen géant* were never yet seen so coupled in French,"—and then this quaint, instructive and amusing writer proceeds to show that the word *pageant* is, in all probability, derived from an Anglo-Saxon verb which signifies, to deceive by false resemblance or representation, supporting his statements, as he almost invariably does, by quotations from standard English authors. Similarly we would say to Mr. Pococke in the spirit of Horne Tooke. Undoubtedly Haya is Sanscrit and means horse. Undoubtedly Buddha is Sanscrit, and means 'wise,' but Haya Budha were never yet seen so coupled in Sanscrit. We are thus saved any further difficulty at solution as to the tribe, in as much as the word, the difficulty, and the resolution thereof, are of Mr. Pococke's own creation.

The *φῆρες* of Homer, usually translated 'wild beasts,' is explained in the following manner. The word is connected with the town of Pheræ in Thessaly, and with the Peer of the Punjab. Both towns were so denominated, we are told, from an old Persian word signifying a "venerable elder or saint," and hence comes the name usually given to old Chiron, the preceptor of Achilles, who, we are informed, was 'the most accomplished divine and leech of his time.' He was called a *pír*, (Pheer Theios) a god-like saint, and out of this the senseless and literal Greeks made an unfortunate paradox, of *φῆρ θεῖος* 'god-like beast.' Hence came all the stories about the Centaur teacher and his strange and uncouth appearance, though a master of the polite arts, in which character he was sedulously extolled by a series of poets.

— quamvis  
Excuteret risum citharædi cauda anagistræ.

And in this way does Mr. Pococke leap from the language of Manu to that of Mahmud of Ghuzni, from the Punjab

to Thessaly, from Thornton's Gazetteer to Achilles and his Dolopians!

In page 119 Mr. Pococke, who has been all along deriving Hercules from *Heri-cul-es*, or as we understand him, the "lord of the tribe of Hari," suddenly recollects that, after all, the Greeks persisted in spelling this name *Heracles*, and that *Hercules* is merely the Latin form. This of course requires some explanation and, accordingly in a note, we find that "Heracles, 'the Greek form, is a singularly clipping style; as usual the 'short "oo" is cut out. The Roman forms are generally 'purer." For this, there is, as usual, nothing but Mr. Pococke's bare assertion, and the "clipping style," we should say, is just as likely to be found in the hard and less flexible language of the two, although we are quite ready to admit that the Latin, equally with the Greek, sprung out of some older language, whether that be Pelasgian or Sanscrit.

Then the Hyperboreans are the people of Khyber-pur, *i. e.*, the city and district of the Khyber. To this additional instance of the unlicensed union of Sanscrit and Persian, we have only to say, that Barrackpore may be, at once, proved to have been founded ages ago, partly by a colony of English soldiers, who brought with them the term used to designate the winter quarters of an army, and, partly, by a colony of Brahmins or Hindus of some sort, who, on their part, added the word usually employed in the land of their origin, to designate a town, city, or assemblage of buildings. The truth is, that this author jumbles up Sanscrit and Persian, *Thenth* or rustic Hindi, and other abbreviations, without the slightest regard to the various influences of invasion or conquest, by which the language, the institutions, and the social customs of the East, were gradually fused into their present complex and variegated condition. But a patient and careful etymologist can no more with impunity disregard these striking landmarks, than a geologist can lose sight of the distinction between the primary and tertiary formation.

We are instructed in page 134, not to forget that the Cashmirians once "lived in England." On the argument by which this assertion is supported, we have little to say, it being included in one of Mr. Pococke's broad and heedless assertions, but we can only remark that, in this case, we can have no hesitation in promptly relieving Maharajah Gulab Sing of the sovereignty of that cool and romantic province. We are only "enjoying our own again."

Deva, the Greek *θεός*, as Mr. Pococke says, and as indeed, is universally allowed, is stated (page 137) to be the ordinary

name of a religious teacher or priest. To this we must demur, at least in the form put by the writer. The word *Deva* is occasionally applicable to a Brahmin, but it is not one of the words by which a member of this haughty fraternity is commonly known: it is not used in writing or conversation one-tenth as often as the familiar words *dwija*, 'twice born,' *vipra*, and *Brahmana*; moreover, if ever used to signify the highest caste of Hindus—it is generally joined to another word, as *bhu deva*, a god of earth, (characteristic enough of the pride of the race) and there is the word *devala*, which is derived from the noun *deva* and the root *la*, 'to bring,' and signifies a Brahman of an inferior order, who conducts all sorts of ceremonies for hire, and lives on the offerings made to the images on which he attends. But neither *deva* nor *devala*, nor *bhu deva*, ever can be called the ordinary or familiar names of religious teachers. In the very next page Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary is appealed to to justify the origin of the Greek *μετανάσται* or 'strange inhabitants' in the sense in which Achilles in the 9th Iliad applies it to himself, in having been treated by Agamemnon as if he were a miserable interloper, and not the bravest of the Greeks.

ὄρει τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην.

These new sojourners are people from the province of Matan, in the south part of Cashmere, who having left the verdant plains of their father-land, are called *Metan-astæ*, from *Matan*, the land just mentioned, and "*vasti*, dwellers, from the verb *vas*, to dwell: *vasti*, plural only." But unfortunately by Wilson and by the author's own showing, the word is *vāsti*, with a short and not a long vowel, and Mr. Pococke does not condescend to tell us whence he gets the long *a*, nor how he can presume to charge the Sanscrit language, euphonious even to a fault, with the perpetration of such a rough and barbarous compound as *Matan-Vasti*, which grates on the ear like a false quantity in the classical languages.

Arjuna, the great archer of the Mahabharat, having been satisfactorily proved to be the chief of the Aigiales, or the Ionians who lived on the shore, it is next attempted to be shown that Epirus was colonised by a large band of the same powerful class. This is to be proved by making out the Thesproti or inhabitants of Thesprotia, to be the Des Brati, or men of the land of Bharata, whence we are transported by a rapid electric touch, to the Bruttii and the Poles, and Pole-land, or Poland! But the simple truth is, that the old name for India, which an educated Hindu will use at the present day in conversation, is *Bharata Varsha*, and even had the term been what

Mr. Pococke describes it to be, it would run as Bharata-desh, and not as Des-Bharat. But a slight inversion is of no moment if it serves to prop up or illustrate a rash or clumsy theory.

A derivation of the word *senators*, in page 173, is so patent an absurdity, that we shall soon dismiss it. Senator means, "a war chief." It has, we are told, nothing whatever to do with *Senex*, or those old men, whose united appearance, so grave and majestic, made the foreign ambassador return and tell his master that he had seen an assembly of kings. The foolish Romans, whose knowledge, relative to the sources of their own language, was about as correct, as that of the Greeks, should have known that *Sen-nath-war* was derived from *sen* an army, *nath* a chief or lord: and *war* a Persian attributive! We have nothing to say to this, except, simply, to remind our readers of the cool presumption of thus accounting for a Latin word by tagging on an out-landish Persian affix to two pure Sanscrit vocabularies, without reference to chronology, to the common rules of the union of different languages, or even to plausibility. Had he contented himself with remarking that *Senātor* and *Senā*, "an army," for the word is so spelt, and not *Sen*, seemed to have some affinity with each other, there would have been some method in his philological madness. But thus is he determined to make or mar the foolish fates.

Our old friends, the *Cossids*, or runners, are discovered to be the Chasquis or messengers of Montezuma! and the word *Cossid* is, with great discretion, set down as "Indian." Now we ask, what is the meaning of the term Indian, as applied to language? All terms in use in this country, or at least, in Northern India, must either be of Sanscrit or Persian origin, or must be set down as old Hindi, or as "local and rustic," by which we readily understand that no one can give any account of them beyond the fact that they exist. The word Indian, as explanatory of a term used in India, explains nothing. The reality we need hardly say in this case is, that *Cossid* is an Arabic word, and of the probability of its identity with a term used in the New World, we leave our readers to judge. Again *Coricancha*, the famous Peruvian temple, which literally blazed with barbaric gold and jewels, is to be read as *Ghur-i-cancha*, and this, in Mr. Pococke's crucible, is made up of *ghur*, the common every-day-word for a house, *i* the Persian possessive term "of," and *cancha*, gold. Thus a Peruvian term, expressive of one of the most splendid and gorgeous buildings, which national pride had ever constructed, is to be explained by a common Hindi term, derived from the pure Sanscrit—for *ghur* is merely a corruption of *griha*, as Mr. Pococke admits—by *i* a Persian affix, and by *cancha*, which is wrongly put



for either the Sanscrit word *kānāka*, or for *kānchana*, *gold*. Two classical languages and a mixed dialect are thus to furnish contributions to Mr. Pococke's theory, without system or method; for we need hardly say, that even were the hypothesis plausible, the etymology is unsound. A further example of purely gratuitous assumption occurs in page 156, where, after informing us that the children of the sun, or clans of the Jumna, "are to be seen on the southern base" of the mountains "of Ætoliā, or Oude," he says that the "Agræi or the people of Agra lie immediately to the north," while the Amphilocheians or Beluchis of *Am*, flank the Agræans on the west. In support of this transformation there is not the least authority advanced, and we can give no reason for it, save the similarity in the sound of Agræi and Agra. But will Mr. Pococke tell us the meaning of the word by which the capital of the great Akbar is commonly designated? We cannot tell him for certain, but we can say what other scholars have thought and written on the subject. In the *Supplemental Glossary* already quoted, we find opposite the word *agur*, a salt pit, the following not uninteresting explanation:—

"It is stated by some authorities, that this word is the origin of the name of the imperial city of Agra, and from the brackish nature of the soil and water, there is no improbability in the statement: but Niamut Oolla, in his history of the Afghans, gives a very different account. He says, that Sultan Secunder Lodi, after getting on board a boat at Muttra, asked his steerer, which of the two heights before them was fittest for building. On which the steers-man replied, 'that which is a-head (Agra) is the best.' At this the Sultan smiled and said, 'the name of the town, then, which I design to build, shall be Agra.' This must be altogether an imaginary dialogue: besides which, it is not likely the steers-man would speak Sanscrit to the Emperor. It is evident moreover that Secunder was not the founder of Agra, as is generally reported, though he may have built the fort of Badulghurh; for the capture of it is celebrated in the verses of a Ghuzni poet in the time of Musā'ūd, the son of Ibrahim, the grand-son of Mahmud; and it is even acknowledged to have been an old city before the time of the Afghans, in the auto-biography of Jehangir, whose veracity need not be impeached in passages where he has no occasion to indulge in the 'Ercles Vein' respecting the achievements of himself or his ancestors."

Then follows a Persian couplet, which, supposing it to have been really written in the days of the grand-son of Mahmud of Ghuzni, is pronounced to be a curious relic, as there is no other record of the capture of Agra by the monarch in question.

Whatever may be the origin of Agra, it is quite clear that it is not one of the old Hindu cities, which like Cannouj or Oude, or Ougein, have obtained a lasting celebrity in the chronicles of the Sanscrit poets. And thus the absurdity of connecting one of the tribes of early Greece, with a city, the first traces of whose existence are believed not to be of older date than some eleven hundred years *after* the Christian era, will be sufficiently patent. The *Supplemental Glossary*, which we have just referred to, has afforded us a welcome opportunity for fortifying our strictures by sound and judicious criticism, combined with much talent and research. It is refreshing to turn from a work full of the crudest theories, to one bearing the unpretending name of a Supplemental Glossary, but replete with the spirit of Spelman or Ducange. Why does not Sir H. Elliot, who has for eight years tantalized us with the first results of his diligent enquiries, go on and finish the work? It was said by Gibbon of Sir William Jones, that he was, "perhaps, the only lawyer equally conversant with the Year books of Westminster, the Commentaries of Ulpian, the attic pleadings of Isæus, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian Cadhis." A very similar judgment may, with equal truth, be passed on the extent and variety of Sir H. Elliot's accomplishments. Familiar with Classics and the modern languages, deeply read in Arabic, Persian and Sanscrit, an historian and a distinguished public officer, he has taken an active part in political affairs of great moment, he has evinced a profounder knowledge of the subject of rent-free tenures than, perhaps, any other civilian in the service, and he has managed to collect and compress into one single volume, an immense extent of curious information relative to the tribes and the customs of Upper India, the fiscal and agricultural terms in use amongst the peasantry, and to give names to things, and illustrations to names, of which Shakespear and Gilchrist had never even heard.

When Mr. Pococke tells us that the patriarch or lawgiver Manu is thought to be identical with Menes the Egyptian king, he refers to us an opinion, which has been held by several orientalists since the days of Sir William Jones, but he follows this up (page 178), by saying that the Greek Memnon, or, as he spells it, Me'mnoo, is a corruption of M'ha Menoo, *i. e.*, the great Manu. When, we may ask, was the first of Hindu lawgivers ever known by the appellation of Maha Manu, for that is what Mr Pococke means, and how, if he were, could such a contraction as Memnon come out of the Sanscrit word? There is, however, Maha Muni, a great saint, which would have been much more to the purpose, had it occurred to the author to indent on it.

The Mamaconas of Mr. Prescott's Peru, elderly matrons who guarded the tender youth of the virgins dedicated to the service of the Sun, are discovered to be the same as Mama-canyas, and this strange combination is made out to signify "mothers of the virgins," Canya being "a pure Sanscrit word for virgin." Now in the first place there is no Sanscrit word *mama*, signifying mother, though it is true that the author has not the hardihood to assert that there is, but if it were possible to imagine such a compound word as Mama-canya, the meaning thereof would be the very opposite of that given by Mr. Pococke. Let us take any compound of Matri, the proper Sanscrit word for mother, and explain it in accordance with the rules of the language. If *matribandhu* signifies "a kinsman of a mother," and *matriswasri* is "a mother's sister," on the same principle Mama-canya must mean, not mothers of the virgins, but virgin or daughter of the mother!

Mount Lebanon (page 215) is, we learn, merely a settlement of the tribes of Leh or Ladakh. The name is Le-banan. To explain this, we are referred, as usual, to the most incongruous medley and unphilosophical jargon. Thus Le or Leh is the locality, and Bana is the Rajputana form of the Sanscrit Varna, a tribe, and the Persian plural of the corrupt form gives us Banan, and the sum total is Leh-Banan or the tribes of Leh! We can add little to what we have before pointed out on this unwarrantable jumble, except that a parallel may be found to it in some of the papers in the Civil and Criminal courts of the lower division of this Presidency, where the ignorant or half-educated vakils and mukhtars are in the habit of joining Persian affixes to nouns of pure Sanscrit origin. But the practice is peculiar, and has only arisen since the discontinuance of Persian as the official language of the courts some fifteen years ago. In the same way Sidon means "All saints' town," for Sidon is merely Saidhan, and this is the plural of Sidha, "perfect," which—the word being pure Sanscrit—may yet borrow its plural from the Persian and become Sidhan!

Damascus (page 219) is derived from Damas-kas, a derivative of Dhamas in Tibet. We had always thought that the word was merely the Persian *Dimishk*, with the usual elongation of the western world. But when Mr. Pococke has derived all these Syrian, Grecian, and Roman terms from towns in Tibet, and mountains in Cashmere and Afghanistan, will he tell us what the original words themselves mean? Are they abstract terms expressive of any quality of the heart or understanding? Do they always give names to the living tribes, or do the living

tribes give names to the inanimate objects? and how, after all, are we one step nearer to the first root of the word?

All who have dipped into the pages of Colonel Tod, will remember the frequent mention of the bard Chund, who is said to have flourished in the twelfth century of our era, and to have written a voluminous poem of 100,000 stanzas on the heroic deeds of his countrymen. The name is a Hindu name, as every one knows, and may be connected with, or derived from, the Sanskrit word signifying *moon*. But, Mr. Pococke has found out another derivation for the sacred bard of the Rajputs. The word is "a Persian equivalent for *cāla*, time!" We pass over the lesser blunder of making the very common Persian term "chand" or "some," to signify "time," in amazement at the gross ignorance and extraordinary fatuity which could connect the name of a Hindu of the Hindus, born some 800 years ago in the sandy plains of Rajputana, with a language at that time hardly known in India at all, and if known, only as the language of an invader and enemy.

The Greek word *chatun*, a hundred, is derived from a word of the same sound and appearance, signifying "having the mind fixed on one (ek) object," which we must take for granted, is meant to be Sanscrit. The author having hitherto coined new and unheard-of combinations, must now coin new words. There is no Sanscrit word *ekaton* which means what the writer says. There is *ekagra*, "attentive," and *ekanta*, "solitary," but the change of a few letters is a mere trifle. Persephone (page 265) is Parasu-pani, "a name of Durga, called also Coree (Sanc. Gouree)." If this word could mean anything, it would mean "one with an axe in his or her hand," but neither in Wilson nor in Williams have we been able to find any epithet of Durga 'as the lady with the hatchet,' and Mr. Pococke, as usual, gives us no authority for his epithet. In the Dictionary of Raja Radhakant Deb we find the word, but it is an epithet of Ganesa, the Hindu Mercury. Then again *Diocles* is derived from *Deva*, a Brahmin, *Kula* a tribe, and *es* a chief, although there is no such known combination as that of the two last words, and *Devakula* or *Devakulam*, when it does occur, signifies a temple. About the same place (page 269) occur some more rare derivations. The *Eumolpidæ* mean *Su-mol-Budha*, "the very great Budha," and the *Troglodytes*, or "genuine cave-hermits," are the *Srooculas*, "the tribes of Sroos or hearers, i.e., Jainas, a sect of Budhists." Even the common Greek word *kakos* or "bad-man," is found out to have an eastern origin and means "go-gbos" or cow-killer, and our Saxon word *bad* comes from *badh* to kill—and so on.

We now come to a much graver charge against Mr. Pococke than any yet advanced by us. It is not that of presumption, or confusion of languages, or disregard of the commonest rules of Sanscrit euphony, or inattention to all sound and judicious writers, and blind adherence to those who are not implicitly to be trusted. It is something much worse than carelessness, arrogance, and love of startling and fantastic theories. It is nothing more or less than that of interpolation to suit a favourite hypothesis. We have already adverted to the derivation of Attica from Attock: of the land of so much ancient civilization, intellectual wealth, and maritime supremacy, from a place of comparative obscurity in the Punjab, not mentioned by any early oriental writer, not known to any classic eastern tongue. But in demonstrating the thoroughly Indian character of the primitive population of Attica, and in confidence that he has satisfactorily transplanted the Pandus and other clans into primitive Grecian history, Mr. Pococke turns to the Grecian historian of the present day, and summons Mr. Grote to give favourable testimony in his cause. Allowing that Mr. Grote does ample justice to the realities of Attic society, but lamenting that he should have had no suspicion of the original starting point of the inhabitants of Hellas, he says: "The account he (Mr. Grote) has given of the constituent parts of the Attic state are so true and just to the habits and system of the tribes of the Attock, in the olden time, that I cannot but introduce them in this place." And then, after his lucid description of the rights and obligations which characterized the gentile and the phratic union, Mr. Grote, to our amazement (for the Italics are our own) is made to say, in page 345 of the present work: "Such was the primitive religious and social union of the population of Attica *and of the Attock*, in its gradually ascending scale, as distinguished from the political union, probably of later introduction, represented at first by the Trittyes and Demes." We read the above sentence, which is given with the usual inverted commas, as an extract from Grote's History, vol. III., page 74, with something beyond mere surprise. Could it be, that this thoughtful, accurate, and judicious writer, had become a convert to, or had anticipated, Mr. Pococke's creed? Was it possible that an author who, we are told, had no idea of the real origin of the people about whom he was writing a work of ten volumes or so, had either deliberately or inadvertently recognized the identity of Attock and Attica? We turned to the passage quoted, and we found that the words, *and of the Attock*, were not in Grote at all: that in short they had been

foisted in by Mr. Pococke, purposely, or had crept in owing to the most astounding negligence. Such a fact as this requires little comment.

We might go on for ten pages more, reviewing Mr. Pococke's fanciful derivations, which embrace every Greek celebrity of interest, either amongst gods or men, and submitting them to the judgment of every reader of common candour or sense. We might dissect the analogies which are found to exist between Apollo and Budha Rao, or the Budha king, between the Hindu month Bhadro, and the Grecian month Boedromion, between Athene or Minerva, and Adhine, the queen of Heaven, Lycurgus and Logurh, Arjuna and Delbhoi, Bamian and Parnassus, Ila the son of Budha, and Iljum, Polyncees and the prince of the Naga chiefs! We should, however, weary the patience of our readers with a list of metamorphoses which, in the end, fail even to provoke a smile. One more of his etymologies we must, however, give, because it touches on the subject of the village communities in India, about which Mr. Campbell has lately written so much and so well. We have all, in India, at some time, heard of the headman of the village or division, whether he be known to us as Patel, or Mundul, or Mokaddum, or by some similar denomination: and the student of Grecian history will remember certain functionaries called Naucraroι or Naucraries, whose duties in the early distribution of the Attic tribes, before the time of Solon or Cleisthenes, are still a puzzle to the antiquarian. The puzzle is, however, solved at last by Mr. Pococke. The Naucraroι is not derived from *naus* a ship, nor is it another word for Naukleros, a householder; as is the latest and most probable explanation, but it is a "Greek disguise for Nauḡ'ra-raj, or the head citizen of his division, or in Indian parlance, the district potail." Then in the usual note we learn that "Nauḡara (spelt Nagara)," is "a citizen: Nagara-raj, (Naukra-ros,) head of the citizens." This will be new to experienced district officers, who we will venture to say, in all their researches, never heard the local dignitary addressed by his constituents as Nagara-raj. But setting aside all reasoning on the entirely local character of these functionaries, and on their varying denominations in different provinces of the empire, we have only to remark that the word Nagara, which is derived from Nagar or Nugger, as it is usually pronounced, means, of course, "one born or bred in a city, a town-lad," "a knowing person," says Mr. Wilson in his Dictionary, as a "buck," "a wag," &c. The word is the very opposite of anything rustic or countryfied, and when occurring in any Sanscrit author, would be much more

characteristic of the fops and dandies of the court of Vikramaditya, if there were any, than of the chief of those tenacious self-governing village communities. And who, we may ask, who ever heard of such a combination as Nagara-raj? The nearest to it in sound is Naga-raja, which, of course, means king of serpents! The jargon of Covielle, in the Bourgeois Gentilhomme, who mystified the old man with that wonderful Turkish language *qui dit tant de choses en peu de mots*, is really more interesting and instructive, than Mr. Pococke's, and we doubt not, quite as classical and sound.

We can assure our readers that the above instances, of what appears to us the strangest aberration of learning and discursive studies, are merely selected from a huge mass of others. We might go on for ten pages more, wearying our readers, and puzzling ourselves to try and discover what authorities Mr. Pococke had for many other startling disclosures. Those which we have remarked on, are certainly such as would attract observation by their prominence, and we trust that we have been enabled, by the help of a very moderate acquaintance with oriental literature, to show that some of his most important deductions, and, generally, the whole system of his enquiries, cannot stand the test of truth. We do not deny that his studies appear to have ranged over a field of some extent, but their application is fantastic and irregular; old and new authors, some of them very doubtful and unsafe guides, are lugged in to suit a pre-conceived idea or prop a falling theory, just as it happens to please the fancy of the writer. Moreover, any one who will take up the book and read ten pages or so thereof, cannot fail to be struck with the assurance and complacency with which the most astounding assumptions are propounded. The slenderest theories inspire the author with no mistrust: the most arbitrary combinations generate no apprehension: the wildest flights of fancy fail to sober this adventurous Phaeton, this new Icarus. The longest march, over the most inhospitable regions, does not abate one jot of the confidence with which this Walter the Pennyless, would lead us, in a mad crusade, to lay in some dreary desert the corpses of our reason and our common sense. There would be some indulgence due to a writer who, having hit upon a new theory, should cautiously endeavour to follow its working: who should step gradually from one firm piece of ground to another: and who, throwing out his discoveries with an air of modest self-possession, should gratefully avail himself of the previous enquiries of scholars of reputation, and only depart from them with an expressed doubt, that further enquiry might, probably, prove them

to be right. But the audacity with which this author's dicta are enunciated, is not more remarkable than the tone of condescension adopted by him, when treating of the labours of some of the profoundest and most notable of English or Continental scholars. The general aim and tendency of the work, as well as several of the details of the execution, have already been given by us; and we have thought it necessary to speak of them in no very measured terms of depreciation. The following are, however, a few of the passages which evince Mr. Pococke's sense of his own merits and discoveries, and his commiseration for the wilful or unavoidable blindness of others. Mr. Pococke stands "at the fountain head of civilisation," and holds "the vantage ground of the high table land of central Asia" (p. 62). A little further, (in page 47), he is "thankful that he has been permitted to pass the gloomy barriers of the mighty past, and to bring back" records which, he doubts not, "will carry conviction to the minds of the dispassionate." In page 77, after a cool mention of the Affghan settlers in Scotland, he writes: "The

Scotch clans, their original localities and their chiefs in Affghanistan and Scotland, are subjects of the deepest interest. How little did the Scotch officers, who perished in the Affghan campaigns, think, that they were opposed by the same tribes from whom they themselves sprang! A work on this subject is in progress." Little indeed, say we, and it is a pity that the interesting fact had not been known to the political officers who planned the Affghan campaign, or to Mr. Kaye, who has written its history, as it might have tended greatly to simplify the diplomatic bearings of the question, and to have altered the historian's judgment. In page 86 we gain a new light on the above war, and we are led to infer that it was a Napier, and not Pollock and Nott, who did something to wipe out the disgrace of the Khoord Cabul. After comparing the defeat and slaughter of the army, by the "subtle craft of a barbarous foe, aided by the unexampled rigours of the severest winter," to the splendour and valour of the host at Ghuzni, Mr. Pococke thus moralizes on this impressive subject: "The province of Thessaly, as being the mirror of a portion of Affghanistan and the Punjab, gives rise to feelings of the most chequered interest, forming, as it does, the record of our greatest triumphs and our greatest disasters. It was the Macedonian hero who invaded and vanquished the land of his forefathers, unwittingly. It was a Napier who, leading on the small, but, mighty army of civilized Britain, drove into headlong flight the hosts of those warlike clans, from whose present stock himself, and not a few of his



troops, were the direct descendants. Thus twice has the army of civilization signalled in Affghanistan and the Punjab its victory over the army of barbarism." The knowledge of the Indian history of late days, and the knowledge of Indian antiquities, combined in this author, seem to be about on a par. Mr. Pococke's own idea of caution may be seen at page 123: "Caution is a commendable virtue: but extreme distrust is far more perilous to history, than extreme facility of belief. The possessor of the latter quality may, among much fable, receive some history; while the sceptic as easily invents an invention for a nation as for an author." No one, we should imagine, will ever accuse this writer of any thing like extreme distrust, or even commendable caution. But at the commencement of the 12th chapter of the work (page 170) we are informed:—"the simple but undeniable facts which I have brought forward, resting upon a substantial geographical basis, will now commend themselves to the judgment of the dispassionate enquirer after truth." A lament for the intellectual apathy of four travellers in Cashmere, whose works are well known to the public, occurs in page 136. The men are Vigne, Moorcroft, Elphinstone, (whose name, by the way, is here spelt, by the author without its final *e*) and Foster. These adventurous travellers described the manly features, the Herculean build, the symmetrical proportions, the classical make of these dwellers in the hills: but—"how little did these eminent travellers imagine, that this was the very race, this identical people of Cashmir, and its immediate neighbourhood, that helped to form from their splendid stock, the manly vigour of Hellas, and the exquisite beauty of her daughters, both Chæroneia, and Plataia, are settlements from this district, Caironaya being the people of Cashmir, and Plataia being Baltæia, those of Balti!" Further on, (page 142) Mr. Pococke regrets that he cannot subscribe to the theories propounded by several writers of high and deserved celebrity in Germany, relative to the foundation of Greek mythology, "still less can he accede to the doctrine of Greek invention and Greek mythopœic propensities, as laid down by Mr. Grote in his *otherwise valuable* history of Greece, as the experiment of that wide and crowded Panorama, which has been styled Greek legend and Greek mythology: a panorama painted by foreign artists." It may possibly occur to the reader, that Mr. Pococke is nothing but a foreign artist himself, and one not remarkable for fidelity of reproduction, while his work is a hasty and superficial daub, and not a life-like panorama. When in page 167 he discovers a similarity between the name of Undes,

a tract near the Sutlej, and the Andes mountains, he "firmly rivets the chain of evidence:" and when, in page 184, he connects the Indus with Abyssinia, Ethiopia with Oude, he describes himself as reaching the introductory evidences of the Indian colonization of Egypt, "by the simple, yet conclusive nomenclature of land and water." "But," he continues, "we pause not here: in fact the mass of these evidences is so overpowering, that the great difficulty is in making a selection." This sort of confidence grows bolder as the author proceeds, and sees in each unsupported assumption of yesterday, a precedent for a new and unwarrantable hypothesis to-morrow. No despot, determined to sap the foundations of liberty, ever proceeded with such celerity from one encroachment to another, or made the position which he had wrested from the popular leaders, the basis of further inroads on the constitution. In page 212, the Egyptians, in hot pursuit of the host of the Israelites, are adverted to as "the Solar Rajputs;" and in page 223, Sisera, the captain of the host of Jabin, who fell a victim to his blind trust in the "sacred rights of hospitality, always accorded by the Rajputs and held inviolable," is alluded to in a careless, familiar way, as an old acquaintance, by the title of "the great Rajput prince." Yet a little further on, and this system of investigation is described (page 234) as a system "which has already been attended with such beneficial results," as an "extensive view already taken of the vast primitive families of mankind", and we are gravely reminded, that, although the present age affords us singular "facilities for locomotion" by "improved mechanical facilities," yet it would not do in the existing state of civilized society, for huge masses of men, with their flocks and herds, to move unobstructed over wide tracts, or through the territories of a civilized power: in other words, that, in spite of our railways and our steam-ships, emigration in this vague and general way between India and Greece, if ever attempted, would certainly call forth a strong remonstrance from the minister of foreign affairs at the court of Teheran, to Col. Sheil, or from the Arab chieftains along the Gulph, or from the Imaum of Muscat, to the Indian Government. Then in page 238, we find a lament for Mr. Grote, who, though "one of the ablest of modern historians," has "been entirely led astray by the corrupt medium through which information has been handed down. And the same author again appears to have had no suspicion of the original starting point of the inhabitants of Hellas, and, consequently, has treated of the Hellenes in their own primitive state, upon the same principles, as those which apply to the

‘ Homeric and Thucydidean Greek.’ The most consummate piece of arrogance, and the last with which we shall trouble our readers, occurs in page 251, where, after again intimating that his dependence is mainly on Sir W. Jones, Wilford, and Tod, and others, who, as they had the courage to step out of the beaten path of knowledge, have been condemned as rash and chimerical, Mr. Pococke calls on us to confess that, “in conjunction with the overpowering proofs I have already advanced of the actual sources and direction of a vast and primitive emigration, this subject does not demand the ordinary proof of chronological history.” He then deliberately proceeds:—“the language of a mighty people is its greatest history, and for the just development of this history, I have applied the most rigid tests, allowing, with the most jealous care, no theory, no mere similarity of sound, to lead me astray from that uniform process of investigation by which these results have been obtained. That process will be found to be based on no narrow nor imaginary foundation, but verified by results as uniform as they are copious. The ancient world is a physiological grammar of fact, by the study of which the great chart of the wanderings of the patriarchs of our race will yet be read with truth.”

That we have little of the ordinary proofs of chronological history in the volume before us, and that the process of investigation has been sufficiently uniform, will be readily allowed. The whole of the theory, in fact, proceeds on this assumption. There is to be no comparison of dates, no regard to the changes and fluctuations of the great Asiatic languages: the periods of the immigrations of huge tribes, the ascertained dates of important revolutions in religion or manners, are not to be taken into the smallest account. The unvarying laws of Sanscrit euphony, regular even in the change undergone by the parent language when passing into other spoken dialects, are to be shifted, pruned or modified, as it suits the writer: other languages are to be dragged in at will; the Semitic is to aid the Indo-Germanic: the local abbreviations current in *Muttra* or *Rohilcund*, linked with classical Sanscrit, are to find resting places in *Peru* and *Thessaly*, and the ‘*mulier formosa*’ is to end in a fish. And even granted that Mr. Pococke has correctly performed the office of interpreter, will he explain to us the meaning of all the words by which he designates the tribes in their earliest localities, in their original seats?

We do not deny that of the thousand guesses made in this

work, there are some which seem plausible, and which, with a little more careful sifting, might, if modestly put forward, lead a careful reader to think there was something in them. But by far the greater number are extravagant, and improbable in the last degree: and many, as we have shown, are utterly untenable and opposed to fact. To make any thing of the hypothesis, the whole work must be re-written. It is a condition essential to the progress and final triumph of any theory like the present, that every step taken shall be deliberately weighed: that one assumption shall not be made the stepping stone to another: and that every thing written by previous authors on both sides of the question, shall be diligently collated and compared. Moreover, it belongs to the very nature of such enquiries, to throw out many suppositions for the research and criticism of others. There are several points which, however they may seem conclusive to the author himself, who, by dint of long meditation, has become persuaded of their intrinsic truth, can only be put forward as reasonable conjectures, for other men to sift. In short, in a work of this kind, a man cannot proceed with too much caution. In these days of divided labour, refined criticism, annihilation of old creeds and abhorrence of new, vague speculations in matters of philology, can least be tolerated.

One part of the work has, however, our entire sympathy. At the commencement of one of the chapters, headed 'Oriental Research,' there is a quotation from the writings of the late James Prinsep, in which that highly gifted person, after confessing the unsatisfactory results of the study of Indian antiquities, whether the student shall wander through a maze of fable, or shall stumble on some dry and unsatisfying fact, points out the chance of connecting legendary India, and historic Greece, to be that which alone repays the enquirer for his trouble, and which makes the sifting of authorities, old and new, a pastime of engrossing interest and pleasure. It is no doubt, as Mr. Pococke says, a grand thing to stand at the fountain of civilization, and to occupy a vantage ground on the high table-land of Asia. When, raised on such eminence, the scholar looks westward till his eye rests on a favoured locality by the shores of the Ægean, a nerve is touched of exquisite sensibility: a prospect is opened more attractive than any of the landscapes of Claude: shrines are described which have drawn together more pilgrims, from all climates and nations, than the holy stone of Mecca, or the junction of the waters at Prayāg. Confine researches to India, and look for purely Indian results, and the chances

are, that only a few German scholars, and some half-dozen indefatigable orientalists, belonging to one of the Indian services, will take any interest in the matter! The scientific and literary world will, perhaps, be excited for half a day, on hearing that a stone with an inscription in strange characters has been dug up in Central India, which proves the wide extent of country under the sway of a single monarch, somewhere about the commencement of our era: or that a new temple has been found on a mountain in the midst of some dark, unhealthy, and almost impenetrable forest, which speaks of a time when the jungle was a garden, and a populous city flourished at the foot of the hill. Wonder will be expressed at the discovery, commendation be given to the scholar, encouragement will be afforded by the applause of a few literati at Berlin, or Bonn, or Paris, or by the patronage of a wealthy body; even the mere dilettante may be startled—and then the whole thing will drop. But tell the intellectual world that you have clearly traced a connection between the rocky soil of Attica, and the high land of central Asia, between early Asiatic conceptions and the refinement of the Greek—and you shall not fail to arouse the curiosity which, in the cloisters of Oxford, has fathomed the utmost depths of Athenian philosophy and civilization. It will be a gratifying thing to know whence sprung originally that wonderful power of delineation, that masterly conception, that unrivalled execution, that simple grandeur, and that exquisite symmetry, which distinguish the embodiments of high Grecian art. No doubt, the Greeks were the last persons in the world whose temperament could fit them for researches of this sort. Lively, imaginative, subtle, they learnt only one language in the world, but they learnt it well. Wielding at will that marvellous mother tongue, which gave ‘a soul to the objects of sense, and a body ‘to the abstractions of philosophy,’ they looked with characteristic presumption on every dialect spoken by the tribes on the shores of the Euxine, or along the coast of Illyricum, with scorn on every barbarian who was powerless to comprehend the language of the shield of Achilles. And thus scholarship may go on toiling for ever in the mines of Hinduism, and accumulating materials from the remnants of every eastern dialect and people, wherewith to build up by degrees an edifice that shall stand the attacks of criticism, and the world will not be warned in time, nor acknowledge that its homage has been paid to unworthy objects. We shall never ask of Hindu, or Arab, or Tartar, or Mogul, or Buddhist, or Mexican, to fix the canons of our

intellectual faith, to define our boundaries, to strengthen our bulwarks. In spite of Oriental enthusiast, English utilitarian, and reckless innovators of all sorts, our taste must be guided, our conceptions be formed, on the models bequeathed to us by Athens, polished, creative and luxurious; by Rome, aggressive, isolated, and stern.

It is difficult to end a review of a work in which learning seems to have been ridden to madness, with any thing like serious criticism. And we must therefore take leave of Mr. Pococke with a reference to one tribe, of the great extent and ramifications of which the author, discursive and impetuous as he is, seems to have been entirely ignorant. We quote Mr. Pococke's own account of the origin of the Perhaibœans, as he spells the name, or inhabitants of Perhaibœa or Olooson, near Mount Titarus, in Greece. The reader, he tells us, "will bear in mind that Titarus, both river and mountain in Greece, take a name from the 'Tatarus' mountain pass of Afghanistan. There the name Ooloos, observes Elphinstone, is applied to a whole tribe, or to an independent branch. The word seems to mean a clannish commonwealth. An Ooloos is divided into several branches, each under its own chief, who is subordinate to the chief of the Ooloos. During civil wars in the nation, the unsuccessful candidate for the command of an Ooloos joins the pretender to the throne, and is brought into power on the success of his party; thus there is the Oolooson (Oolusân) the Perhaibœan clan of warriors. Perhaibœans 'at once mythological and historical, Trojan and anti-Trojan, Greek and Affghan.'" Thus says Mr. Pococke on Elphinstone. But is it not possible that the Ooloos of Affghanistan may be the progenitor of other tribes besides the Grecian? Had these authors—to avail ourselves of Mr. Pococke's usual style of argument, when discovering some facts which had long remained a sealed mystery to other scholars—had they no suspicion that this remarkable union or clan, might be traced in the most civilized state of society, amongst the various nations of Europe, in the descendants of Saxon and Norman, Hun and Goth? For once we will venture an hypothesis, as to the correct meaning and origin of this term, and will shew Elphinstone to be entirely at fault. The word is not unknown in India. It is employed in colloquial intercourse, and is too often in common use. The pedantic, who insist on puzzling the common herd by spelling oriental words with extreme accuracy, write the word as Ulu. The unlearned are content to know and use it as Ooloo. It has been used to denominate a certain species of the extensive

family of the *Simiæ*. The *S*, wrongly inserted by Elphinstone, is nothing more than the English plural, which has crept in unlawfully, just in the same manner as Persian terminations have been joined by Mr. Pococke to Sanscrit words. Oolooson, or Perhaibœan Trojans, are then nothing more or less than the "sons of Ooloos," the two words having been joined together by the disuse of one *S*—a corruption neither unnatural nor unfamiliar to the ear: as witness the common surname of *Jameson*, which is undoubtedly a corruption of *James-son*, or even of *James's-son*. We strongly recommend Mr. Pococke, instead of writing on the Scotch Affghans, and the Rajputs or Budhists who built the Cloacæ at Rome, to trace the fortunes and migrations of this interesting family from east even to west, and from west to east. He will find the tribe of Ooloos everywhere. Members of it are to be discovered in every walk of life, in every trade, calling, and profession, and country, amongst civilians, merchants, soldiers, and learned societies. Objects of satire and persecution, the members of this family are daunted by no repulses, and rise with new vigour from every prostration. They are to be met with, in short, wherever there is a blunder to be committed in business, a speculation to be mismanaged, an error in diplomacy to be committed, or a learned theory, in ethnology, philology, or any other subject, to be pushed to an extreme, until common sense and judgment shall give up the ghost in despair.

ART. V.—*Memoir on the Kaffirs, Hottentots, and Bosjemans of South Africa. By Colonel John Sutherland. Cape Town. 1847.*

[It is necessary to state that the following article was written more than a year ago, before the tidings of the supersession of Sir Henry Smith in the government of the Cape Colony had reached India ; but as the important principles that are propounded in it are of universal application, and as even the prospects of the war, and the state of affairs on the frontier of our South African Colony seem to be very little altered, it is believed that the publication of the article even now will not be inopportune.—Ed.]

IN the ordinary course of literary review, it would be late in the day to notice a work published five years ago. Recent events at the Cape Colony however, and the disastrous war still raging there, invest the subject so ably treated by our author, with such peculiar interest at the present time, that we need offer no apology, we feel assured, in presenting to our readers the opinion of a practical statesman as to the character of our present enemies, the Kaffirs, formed on intimate personal acquaintance, and with his views respecting the internal defensive arrangements and frontier policy which should regulate our relations with that race. In this review we shall have occasion to notice the debate in the House of Commons, of the 15th April, 1851, on Mr. Adderley's motion, and to advert to the leading article in the *Evening Mail*, of the 23rd April, on Cape affairs.

We have marked for comment the leader here referred to, because, while allusion is therein made to Colonel Sutherland in terms of just appreciation, as one of the best of Indian statesmen, and of the high purpose which led him, when visiting the Cape for health and repose, to proceed to the distant frontier "to study the habits, ascertain the resources, and measure the capacities of the native tribes, and this done, to draw up gratuitously, a minute on the subject, for submission to the Governor for the time being:"—while this just tribute is paid to the individual, it is assumed that the suggestions he submitted, have, in the main, been acted on by succeeding Governors ; but that the scheme, formed on the Indian model, has failed, owing to the different nature of the materials at the Cape on which the experiment was tried—that the condition of India, in short, bears scarcely any analogy, in respect of the wild tribes which inhabit portions of its territories, to that of the Cape, with its bordering Kaffirs.

As a careful comparison between our author's scheme, and the plan adopted by the Cape Government in the late organization of the frontier tribes, has satisfied us, that even in respect of the mere machinery, there was a wide departure from Colonel



Sutherland's suggestions; and further that, in the conduct of our relations with the frontier tribes, the very reverse of the principles advocated by that officer, have been acted on, we think it but fair to our author, and important to the impartial and unprejudiced consideration of his views, to remove the impression that his scheme has been tried and has failed from whatever cause. The cause, indeed, assigned, would seem to have been advanced on imperfect information respecting one at least of the two countries which form the objects of comparison, namely, India, between the wild tribes of which, and those at the Cape, the analogy is closer than may at first view appear. This analogy it will be useful to trace.

Referring then again to the *Evening Mail* article, it is observed, "that the wild tribes of India, though in themselves as savage and indomitable as the Kaffirs, stood in no such relation to the authorities around them—that there was no question, whatever, between their strength and ours." These remarks are based on the assumption that the tribes in question were "isolated communities, contesting their remote localities with tigers," &c. Regarded as such, the remarks on their insignificance as an enemy would be applicable enough; but it may not be generally known that most of the wild tribes of India are subject, as tributaries, to independent, and often powerful, princes and chiefs. The authority of the latter over such subjects is rarely exerted, except for the collection of tribute; and even in this, it is often resisted, and with success, owing to the natural strength of the tracts inhabited by the tribes. But a nominal allegiance or recognition of feudal sovereignty has never been denied—on the contrary, rather gloried in. These wild tribes are, probably, the aborigines of the country, and though found under different denominations in divers parts, as Bhils, Minas, Ghonds, Kholas, &c., &c., they present the same characteristics everywhere; and under whatever name, the relation we have indicated between the aborigines and the independent chiefs of the country, obtains markedly throughout the principalities of Rajputana and most of the chiefships of Bundelkhund, in Nagpur, and, indeed, almost universally throughout India, where aborigines are to be found—the instances in which they are not with in absolute independence, being the exception, not the rule. But not only to the aborigines will the term *wild tribes* apply. The warlike clans of Rajpurs inhabiting the desert states, are almost equally rude and lawless as the original denizens of the hills and forests, paying, like these, merely a nominal, but not the less cherished, allegiance, to their respective feudal chiefs. Indeed, the two

racés are often found banded together in predatory enterprises.

Now, what has rendered these savage tribes not only harmless as an enemy to the Government of India, but, on the contrary, disposed to receive kindly its humane efforts to reclaim them to habits of order and industry, and even to submit themselves to military discipline in our service? The fact of the eminent success of the British Government in India, in this great work of civilization, is indisputable. Rajputana,—for eight or nine years the field of our author's distinguished political administration,—Rajputana alone could furnish several instances throughout the range of the Arabulla mountains which traverse it longitudinally. What then, if it be asked, has brought about this satisfactory result? We answer confidently, the wise and liberal policy which has cultivated friendly relations with the princes and chiefs to whom these wild tribes are subject.

A notable illustration in support of this opinion was afforded by the suppression of the great marauding system which obtained in Central India, in the years 1846-7, solely by the efforts of the rulers of states. These chiefs had long viewed, with apathy, the lawless operations of the free-booters, until the latter, emboldened by repeated successful enterprises, made an attack on one of the British Government treasuries, and accomplished its plunder by cutting down the guards. The administration of the day contemplated the necessity of military operations by our own troops, to avenge the insult and put down the formidable marauding system; but Colonel Sutherland, then the British representative in Rajputana, overruled the project. Confiding in the friendly feelings and good faith of the chiefs, he called upon them to avenge the insult which had been offered to our power by their subjects. The result well justified his confidence. Arming simultaneously, the states sent their troops into the field; and in a few months all the parties of the organization were beaten and dispersed, their leaders captured, and the system effectually suppressed. Thus, by the unaided exertions of our allies, British honour was satisfied, and tranquillity restored to the country.

Contrast this satisfactory result with what might have been expected, had it been the policy of the British Government in India, systematically to degrade the chiefs under their protectorate, and to disparage their authority; or had they, in the case of violation of territory under notice, rigorously held the chiefs responsible for the misdeeds of their subjects, and adopted penal measures accordingly? What measures? Annexation

of deserts and barren hilly tracts would hardly pay, even if their conquest could be achieved in the face of a warlike race. At any rate, in any coercive measures to which the Government might have resorted, they would assuredly have found the operations of the wild tribes, when backed by the authority and resources of their feudal chiefs, and sheltered by the unassailable strength of their country, a very different affair from the acts of the same class, heretofore not only unauthorized, but in all possible ways repressed. The liberal and enlightened policy, on the contrary, which the Indian Government has uniformly adopted, is to respect the titles of their protected chiefs, and to strengthen their hands in every way; and they have found their account in it, in uninterrupted internal tranquillity, greatly diminished military expense, and the staunch co-operation of their allies in their foreign wars.

Let us now turn to the Cape, and see what policy has there regulated our conduct towards the wild tribes and their chiefs, and what system has guided our measures for the defence of the frontier. In considering these questions, it will appear that the widest possible departure from our author's suggestion, has obtained, wholly in respect of foreign policy, and very materially as regards the organization of the frontier region for internal defence; and upon these two points hinges the whole question of peace or war on the frontier. The better to mark the discrepancy alluded to, we will detail, first, briefly, Colonel Sutherland's suggestions, as embodied in the minute he submitted to the Cape Government, in 1844, and which was published, subsequently, with the memoir under review—and then take occasion to advert to the frontier policy of the Cape Government of late years. The course of enquiry requisite for the institution of this comparison, may throw some light on the causes which originated the present war, and lead us, perhaps, to some practical conclusions for bringing it to a close, and placing our relations with the Kaffirs on a footing of promising tranquillity for the future.

We may premise that the great error which the Cape Government appear to us to have committed in its dealing with the Kaffirs, is treating them as British subjects, instead of what they are—independent tribes subject to their respective chiefs, and allied to the British Government at the Cape, by the usual formal instrument of such alliances—A TREATY; and this not even a protectorate treaty, which might have afforded a plausible pretext for the assumption of a certain degree of authority over them, but simply a treaty of peace and amity. Regarding the border tribes, then, as British subjects, is, to our appre-

hension, we repeat, the fundamental error which has marked all our communications with them, and which, consequently, as being quite unwarranted by the true nature of our mutual relations, lies at the bottom of the present war.

In proceeding now to sketch briefly our author's scheme, we shall observe how distinctly he recognizes the condition of the Kaffirs as independent tribes, and how scrupulously he regards their rights as such. Indeed, the first thing which would seem to have attracted his attention, in considering our relations with that race, is the last treaty negotiated with them, bearing date 5th December, 1836; and the third head of his minute, wherein he propounds his scheme of frontier policy, opens (page 16) with a detail of the articles, and upon these he proceeds to note his observations.

The restitution of the territory, afterwards known as the neutral territory, is first commented on; and in speaking of the chief Makomo having failed to recover on the occasion his original patrimony, our author observes:—"To the sympathy of the chiefs and people of Kaffirland in Makomo's misfortunes, if not to their sense of the injustice done him, is, however, generally ascribed the mighty combination which led to their general irruption into the colony in 1834-5." This Chief Makomo, we may note in passing, is one of the most influential in the field against us, at this present moment, though he was friendly enough at the commencement of the present administration. It was this very Makomo, upon whose neck Sir H. Smith placed his foot at a friendly meeting of the chiefs which he had convened. The feat was intended, perhaps, as a symbolical demonstration, to indicate to the dull apprehensions of the Kaffirs, that the era of a rigorous administration had dawned. They pondered the lesson in their hearts. But to return. The next article of the treaty noticed is Article XIV., wherein it is stipulated that armed individuals or troops shall not pass the colonial border. Upon this our author remarks, that this "is a condition of things not certainly consistent with our supremacy, but negotiation to gain this right might cause uneasiness, and there is nothing in the matter, urgent or important, for if the Kaffirs give us sufficient cause, a declaration of war will follow, and then, troops will necessarily enter their country." We extract this merely as a further illustration of the scrupulous care enjoined to avoid entering upon any unnecessary negotiation calculated even to *cause uneasiness*.

Articles 16, 24, 25, and 26, relating to the adjustment of border criminal cases, are next noticed; and the amendments of the same in 1840, involving important concessions, all in favour

of the colony, except in the provision whereby fourteen days are given to the chiefs to afford indemnification, instead of having, as formerly, to do so at once. In commenting on these amended articles, "the objectionable peculiarity of dictating to the native chiefs, how they are to deal with their own subjects in recovering stolen property," is remarked upon.

An appended clause to article 26 is then noticed, providing further facilities to colonists to search after stolen property, &c., notwithstanding which, our author observes, "there is a general sense of insecurity of life and property among the Colonial borderers, and actual proof of aggression on the part of the Kaffirs, which show that the system, however well designed in 1836, and amended in 1840, after four years' experience of its working, does not yet altogether work well." He proposes then the introduction of a system for the adjustment of border disputes, analogous to that which had been adopted in India, and which, we may say for Colonel Sutherland, his genius framed, and his administrative talent brought into practical operation. The system is briefly described by the author in the following words:—"A system has been lately adopted in India, for the adjustment of petty international differences of a criminal character, in which it is the duty of the British Government to mediate and control, which has been attended with the happiest results. The several states forming the circle of a political superintendency, under any residency, or agency, have their *pakatis*, or agents, accredited to the resident for the disposal of ordinary business; out of these foreign agents a standing court of arbitration is formed for the adjustment of such international questions; all such questions, as they arise, are referred to this court.\* It takes evidence and passes its decree, and the decree is enforced by the resident, when he considers it unobjectionable; or, in more important cases, or where this is desired by the court, the resident himself, or one of his assistants, takes his seat in the court, and votes with the other members, or has the casting vote. The agent of the state, whose subject is the complainant, or defendant, always has a seat in the court as the representative of their

\* "Colonel Smith (now Sir Harry, the present Governor) says, in proposing the trial of offenders delivered up to us, by a Kaffir Jury (Letter to His Excellency the Governor, 12th February, 1836.) Those ignorant of Kaffir manners will say—'Oh, the Kaffirs would never find their people guilty;' such, I say, is not the case; I never saw more honest or more unprejudiced people, when assembled for such purposes, or evidences who more plainly speak out without lying."

What excuse then, for Sir Harry, in endeavouring to rule them with the "brass knob" baton?

interests; or where the plaintiff or defendant is a British subject, the resident, or one of his assistants, is there. But, although there, such representatives of individual interests do not always vote, this being generally left to their own sense of right. Such a decision is necessarily more satisfactory to both plaintiff and defendant, whether it be a state, or one of its subjects, than the decision of an individual could be. The court is an open one, and has the additional advantage of showing to all the world that justice is done according to treaty or usage, without favor or affection, whilst it accustoms the natives to our modes of transacting business, and, which is not less important, accustoms us to their modes, leading to a general co-operation in the administration of international justice and the prevention of crime.

"There are materials here for the formation of such a court, and for ensuring the attendance of defendants and witnesses, in the pakati, the resident agents, and the agent general, and its institution could not fail, I think, to produce very beneficial results here, as it has done in India."

Reverting to the treaty, our author remarks that it is in his opinion defective in one important particular, namely, "in not being defensive as well as a treaty of peace and amity." In proposing accordingly a revision of the treaty for the purpose of imparting to it this protectorate character, Colonel Sutherland supports his suggestion by the following sound arguments:—

"It would give us the right of protecting those with whom we were so allied against foreign invasion, which, of course, would be an inestimable benefit conferred on them. It would enable us to call on our allies to assist in the protection of the colony, if menaced or attacked from any quarter, and to this extent would have the effect of breaking up any confederacy which may exist for evil among the Kaffir chiefs, rendering the British Government the acknowledged head and protector in all cases where it had defensive treaties with chiefs, and mediator in all cases where its mediation might be required. It appears that the Kaffirs were in danger of being destroyed, or pushed on the colony in 1828, by the Mantatees or the Ficani, who themselves were pushed from the North-East by the Zoola chief, Chaka. The forward march of Colonel Somerset and Major Dundas, defeated and checked the career of the Mantatees. There was, however, some hesitation and question of our right to interpose, although our aid was requested. A defensive alliance would, of course, teach the Kaffirs to look to our protection under such exigencies, and save the colony from the danger of their being forced into

‘ it by the pressure from without. It would also give us  
 ‘ the right of protecting all chiefs with whom we were so  
 ‘ allied, and save the inferior chiefships from the encroach-  
 ‘ ments of the more powerful, and from this the wars of the  
 ‘ Kaffirs appear principally to arise. Taught to look to our  
 ‘ protection, in the two important matters of external invasion  
 ‘ and aggression on the part of one chiefship on another, all  
 ‘ would the more readily and systematically court our interpo-  
 ‘ sition in those internal conflicts, or civil wars, to which rude  
 ‘ feudalisms, like those of the Kaffirs, and even more perfect  
 ‘ feudalisms, are always so liable.

“ That universal peace may be ensured, through a well re-  
 ‘ gulated system of supervision over the affairs of feudal chief-  
 ‘ ships, where both the ruler and the feudal chiefs appeal  
 ‘ for assistance, or where one party appeals, our experi-  
 ‘ ence in India affords almost every day proof; also, that  
 ‘ amongst sovereignties and chiefships of far higher preten-  
 ‘ sions than those of the Kaffirs, such interposition is not  
 ‘ only not offensive, but that it is courted and prized by all  
 ‘ parties as the greatest favour that can be conferred on  
 ‘ them, particularly after they have ascertained, by past experi-  
 ‘ ence in their own case, or in the case of their neighbours,  
 ‘ that the supreme protecting or arbitrating power aims at no  
 ‘ selfish or interested objects, and only aims at general peace,  
 ‘ and the welfare of both, or of all, parties.”

We will now give a rough sketch of the scheme of a frontier legion detailed under the second head of the minute; and which, it may be premised, will be found marked by three essential features, which distinguish it from the plan on which our frontier levies have been raised and organized, namely, first, that men of different races be enlisted, and not only of different races, but even of different tribes of each race; secondly, that they should be from the first our own subjects, or men who were prepared to become such; thirdly, that they should be paid in grants of land.

These distinctive features will be observed from the following details; and the considerations which suggested them shall be given presently in the author's own words:—

“ Three corps to be formed, consisting of six companies each—one company in each corps to be composed of *Amakosa* Kaffirs, one of *Tambuki* Kaffirs.

“ Two companies in each corps to be composed of *Fingoes*, two ditto of *Hottentots*.”

“ And with each of the companies, a few *Bosjemans* might be intermixed. To each corps might be given a superior native

‘ officer or commandant, to be selected from amongst the  
 ‘ younger sons of the chiefs, one from the *Kaffirs*, one from  
 ‘ the *Fingoes*, and one might be a *Hottentot*.” Then follows the  
 proposed distribution of the corps in particular localities and  
 posts (assuming the River Kye as the frontier) each under the  
 command of the local resident agent, the whole under the  
 authority and control of the agent general:—the scheme of  
 military organization thus forming a correlative adjunct to, and  
 dovetailing with, that before sketched for the conduct of civil  
 and criminal border jurisdiction.

“ These three corps stationed on the frontier, to be supported  
 ‘ by the Cape Mounted Rifles, which might be increased in  
 ‘ number, and stationed at Fort Beaufort.

“ A single regiment of foot, stationed at Graham’s Town,  
 ‘ would be sufficient for the support of all, forming a sub-  
 ‘ stantial base of operations for the whole machinery.”

The mode of payment of such corps is next considered. It  
 is proposed to grant unoccupied land on the frontier, both to  
 officers and men, according to their several grades and rates of  
 pay, like, *parva componere magnis*, the military colonies of  
 Russia.

The general advantages of the scheme may be summed up  
 briefly in the words of the author:—

“ The whole body would thus take root in the land. The  
 ‘ presence of their cattle, herds, and families, would be sufficient  
 ‘ security for the individual fidelity and good conduct of each  
 ‘ and all. There can be no doubt, I think, that these military  
 ‘ colonies, planted within our own territories, and composed,  
 ‘ from the first, of our own subjects, or of men who would  
 ‘ immediately become such, living under the control of our  
 ‘ own laws, would form, whether in time of war or of peace,  
 ‘ a better frontier defence to the colony than could ever be  
 ‘ formed, by bringing, as has been proposed, foreign chiefs and  
 ‘ people living on the border, under British laws; an attempt  
 ‘ which would certainly fail here [writing from the frontier]  
 ‘ as it has failed elsewhere, even had we the right to make it.  
 ‘ The mixture of the *Kaffirs*, *Fingoes*, *Bosjemans* and *Hot-*  
 ‘ *tentots* would go far to ensure the fidelity and good conduct  
 ‘ of all. Such a mixture of tribes under British officers, and  
 ‘ military discipline, would also go farther, perhaps, towards the  
 ‘ civilization of the more savage races, than any system yet  
 ‘ adopted. The missionary would find the head-quarters of  
 ‘ the several corps a fine field for his labors, whilst religion and  
 ‘ education would go hand-in-hand with military discipline and  
 ‘ organization in the great work of civilization.”



Having thus given an outline of our author's scheme of frontier policy, together with a sketch of the machinery through which he suggests it should be carried out, let us turn to the Cape frontier, and see how far the measures which have been there adopted are, as has been affirmed, in conformity with the same. The history of the Cape colony, both while in our possession, and during a period long anterior, seems to exhibit its territorial extension as the result of circumstances, over which successive Governments for the time being would appear to have had no control. Mr. Attorney-General Bannister, cited by our author, gives a resumé of the ordinary practices at the Cape towards the natives for upwards of a century, in the following words:—"Unprovoked aggressions and deferred redress, together with rigorous prohibitions of intercourse, and strict injunctions against encroachments on the native lands, which, however, were no sooner thronged by the trespassing parties, than Government extended its bounds, and so rewarded the delinquents. In this way the colony has spread from three hours from Table Bay to Hottentot's Holland; then to Swellendam; then to Gamton's River; then to the Fish River; then, in 1825 and 1829, to the Keiskama; to the heads of the Kye and the Cradock, with perhaps more intervening stopping places, and as frequent protestations to remain content with the last attained limit."

In reference to the views of later Governors of eminence, on the policy of extending the frontier, a member of the ministry, Mr. Hawes, in replying to Sir W. Molesworth's masterly and eloquent speech in the debate of the 10th April, 1851, on our *Colonial expenditure*, endeavours to support the present aggressive policy by asserting that the principle has been uniformly advocated. It is intelligible enough that the measure of advancing the frontier may have been recommended by certain Governors under certain circumstances, having reference merely to getting a better frontier-line, without at all committing themselves to the advocacy of the principle of extension of frontier, regarded as a desirable object of policy, which Mr. Hawes distinctly implies. In fact, we believe it will be found that such recommendations, by whomsoever submitted, have, in every instance, been wholly irrespective of the policy of the measure, considered with reference to the growth of the colony. It is well known that the reason for advancing the frontier from the Fish River, fixed in 1820, by Lord Charles Somerset, to the Keiskama, was because the former was found to be ill adapted for defence. This argument would be applicable with still greater force to the advancing of the frontier from the Keiskama

to the Kye; for the former river, from being fordable in many places, and having a belt of forest on either bank, afforded peculiar facilities to the Kaffirs in their border cattle-liftings and other incursions, whereas the Kye, our author observes, appears to be marked out by nature as a frontier line, running in almost a straight and well-defined line in a south-east direction from the Storm Bergh to the sea. As Sir Benjamin D'Urban has been prominently cited by Mr. Hawes in support of the principle of extension, we may observe, in acquiescence with Colonel Sutherland's opinion, that the attainment of the Kye as a boundary was apparently Sir B. D'Urban's chief object, next to the protection of our Colonial territory, in his offensive operations; and though he took a slice of territory beyond the Kye at the close of the war of 1834-5, it was only by instructions from Lord Glenelg, under date the 2nd August, 1836, in satisfaction of an unfulfilled demand which had been made upon the Chief Krieli, and agreed to by him, to pay twenty-five thousand head of cattle as his share of the indemnification for the expenses of the war.

From all this it would appear that extension of frontier, regarded as a principle of policy, has been rather deprecated by former administrations, and only acted upon from time to time, under strong pressure of aggressions from without, or uncontrollable expansive force internally. It remained for Sir Harry Smith to commit the Home Government to the support of a policy as injudicious in its application as ruinous in its results.

In the first place he has deliberately added some hundred thousand square miles of territory, for the most part desert and barren, to our already too extended possessions at the Cape. The manner in which these acquisitions have been made, moreover, has been marked by wanton outrage on the feelings of the chiefs.

With respect to the simple act of appropriation, the only objection we have at present to take is on the score of its impolicy. Much blame has further been imputed to the Governor on account of the injustice of the act; but we do not wish now to enter upon that question, or to decide between those who would stand up for the inviolable right of the savage, founded on ancient possession, to his boundless and undefined domain, and those who would encourage the expansive colonizing instinct of civilized men. We have our own opinion on this question, and it is a decided one; but it is not necessary to introduce it into the present discussion. It ought, however, to be stated that the Kaffirs, being themselves conquerors and dispossessors,

are scarcely entitled to the same privileges that might be claimed in behalf of aborigines. It is, moreover, no detriment to our argument, though we give up all that can be claimed on behalf of the civilized race to take possession of that land which they are capable of applying to its legitimate purpose, by tilling and cultivating it, and to restrict the savage nomadic tribes within limits narrower than their habits and necessities require. It is not upon the justice or injustice, but upon the policy or impolicy of Sir H. Smith's measure of frontier extension, that we are going to join issue with his supporters; the evil effects which, in our opinion, must, under any management, have resulted from the fundamental error in policy, being, under the present, aggravated by the personally offensive manner and conduct of the Governor, assumed deliberately, in furtherance, as it would seem, of a pre-conceived system of intimidation, —a system which has been rightly described by Sir William Molesworth as that of a minute, perpetual, and irritating interference with the "affairs of the Kaffirs, and an unceasing and galling attempt to subvert the influence and authority of their chiefs."

Will it be disputed that Sir H. Smith's system has been such as here described? Why, his own avowed, nay boasted, official acts proclaim it with all the force of the "brass knob" which surmounted his baton of peace and authority. Was it not one of his own vaunted acts that he had deposed the noted Kaffir Chief Sandilli from the rank of GREAT CHIEF, and had appointed himself in Sandilli's place as the INKOSI NKULU of all the Kaffirs? When such wanton treatment had driven that chief into hostility again, did the Governor not put a price of five hundred pounds on his head?—Did he not publicly degrade another high chief, before alluded to by name, Makomo, in the most outrageous manner? And did he not insult grossly all these friendly chiefs, who came on special invitation to meet the Governor in friendly meeting in December 1847, and January 1848? Of the last named chief it may not be amiss to quote here our author's opinion. At page 22 of the minute, he writes—"I have had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with Makomo, and so far as I can judge, he is a very remarkable man, whose good sense and good feeling may be enlisted with great advantage in securing peace on both sides of the border."

Further, in support of our view of his system, let us refer to Sir H. Smith's despatches, and we shall find abundant evidence out of his own mouth: when, for instance, he writes, that at another meeting he made the Kaffir chiefs swear to obey his

commands; to disbelieve in witchcraft; not to buy wives, &c. In contrast with the vexatious system of interference indicated by these extracts, let us place the following suggestions of our author—the liberal toleration enjoined being the dictate of sound political wisdom:—"All interference with the usages of the chiefs and people must, however, I think, be touched with a very delicate hand, or not touched at all by the officers of Government, however revolting some of those usages may be to our better feelings, and repugnant to our sense of right." And again—"It may be difficult for an enlightened and beneficent Government to shut its eyes upon such atrocities as I have noticed among the Kaffirs, or to abstain from too rudely, or too suddenly, attempting to correct and mitigate them; but since the days of miracles are gone, the endeavour to abstain will be strengthened and confirmed by constantly bearing in mind that they are not our own subjects, and that changes are not to be suddenly effected amongst any people."

But it may be possible that we are doing Sir H. Smith an injustice. He may have had special and right good reasons for his interference. And yet it is difficult to fathom them. Was it that a feeling of personal danger mingled with his sense of gubernatorial responsibility, and that he apprehended having to burn at the stake, as an accessory before the fact, for the witchcraft practised by the Kaffirs? Was it that as Sir Harry practised the Black Art himself, as was exhibited with such startling effect before the chiefs in the blowing up of the waggon—professional jealousy dictated the obnoxious interdiction? Some little indulgence is therefore due perhaps to the weakness of human nature. But whatever the motive, Sir Harry clearly considered that the scriptural impossibility of Beelzebub casting out devils, had nevertheless been realized in this fallen world as a great FACT, and this through his own instrumentality; for we find him shortly before the outbreak, writing exultingly to Lord Grey—"We are overcoming witchcraft!" Alas! alas! as the mighty wizard of Kaffirland was riding triumphantly through the air on the traditional broom-stick of the weird sisterhood, Hey presto! vanished! But whither? Ha! can it be? The INKOSI INKULU of all the Kaffirs hocus-pocus'd by a handful of them? A mighty fall indeed. Phaeton and his car—Cocker and his parachute—Dædalus and his melted wings—furnish but feeble types of the fall of the once exalted, now humbled, hero.

But let us turn our eyes from the distressing spectacle, and revert to our Governor in the plenitude of his power,

when we find him ordering the Kaffirs not to buy wives. This order obviously involves the correlative command "not to sell wives." Here then, in these two mandates, we have the civilized world brought to a pretty pass! Not to buy and sell wives! In a marrying and giving-in-marriage community! Breathe it not at Almack's—whisper it not on the golden shores of the glowing East. Too late, too late, a wandering bird of the night has gone forth with the word, and no more from henceforth shall the altars of Baal smoke with the sacrifice of bleeding hearts. No more in brazen tower shall the worship of amorous Jove, descending in a shower of gold, be celebrated by the modern Danaës, assisted by the ardent, or at least heretofore submissive vestals of the present rising generation. Alas no more! but the bright reality shall dissolve and fade away into the indistinctness of an ancient myth, and soon be lost even to tradition. The harmony and order of the social world being disturbed, perturbations, variations, and eccentricities shall ensue. Exultation and a revolt of the Harem here; consternation and a committee of public safety of Dowagers there; revolutionary true-love knots and rampant Bloomerism everywhere. Rash man! what could have possessed thee to raise such a storm of unbridled passions?

Moral responsibility? Oh! But he was altogether mistaken if he supposed that such a responsibility rested on him as Governor. It is for the Missionaries, in the exercise of their noble vocation, to strive to introduce that light before which evil principles and evil practices will be dispelled; but this is an honor that God has reserved for his servants in this department. Civil Governors are his "ministers for good" in another way; and each class should restrict themselves to their own spheres. Well had it been, if Sir Harry had learnt the wisdom of taking the people of a country as they are, and its institutions as he finds them, resting assured, on the authority of Burke, that "no name, no power, no function, no artificial institution whatsoever, can make the men, of whom any system of authority is composed, any other than God, and nature, and education, and their habits of life, have made them."

Again, the Governor, in reporting the desertion of the Kaffir police, moralizes in the following strain:—"Thus is again recorded in history, another instance of the danger to be apprehended from arming men from hostile populations!" Very lamentable, Sir Harry, certainly; but having the lights of history before you as beacons, how was it that you came to arm men from a hostile population in the first place, and having actually experienced their defection and open hostility, how came

you, next, to restore their arms to this same Cape corps, whom you yourself disarmed at King William's Town? Referring to the sketch given in a preceding part of this article, of our author's scheme for the organization of a frontier legion, we find, that it contemplates the enrolment, from the first, of our own subjects; and then, contrasting the mode of payment and other details of the scheme, replete with prudent provisions for ensuring the individual fidelity and good conduct of the men, with the mere offer of high pay held out to the border tribes, as an incentive to faithful service, we at once cease to wonder at their desertion, to range themselves on the side of their ill-used chiefs. But while driving the border tribes into open hostility, if the Governor had attached and secured the aid and co-operation of all British subjects, it would have been something as a set off. But how stands the fact? Why, that some twelve thousand Dutch farmers have left the colony, and withdrawn themselves from British sway. It is but fair, however, to Sir H. Smith, to note, that the original causes of the disaffection of the Dutch bear date from a period far anterior to his assumption of the Government. Some, indeed, such as the abolition of the old Dutch office of Heemraadeen, or district magistrate, are coeval with our acquisition of the colony in 1806. For this office none equivalent has been substituted; nor, indeed, are any civil offices of importance open to the Dutch, or to any other class of colonists. All have been treated with a degree of contempt,—the result of Colonial Office jobbing, we suspect,—sufficient to engender disgust and hatred of our British domination. Yet to Sir H. Smith it was given to add the last drop which caused their cup of endurance to overflow. And when they withdraw from British rule, and go forth beyond the border of the colony, they are denounced as traitors. Whether they have really entered into a league with our enemies, in self-defence, or are self-sustained, does not appear; but a strong presumption in favor of the former hypothesis is afforded, by the fact, that a word from their leader Pretorius (upon whose head, by the way, a price is said to have been set by the Governor) sufficed to avert a threatened incursion of the Kaffirs into the colony. There is nothing at all to wonder at in this collusion.

Let us now take a brief review of the debate in the House, on the 15th April last, on Cape affairs: though now passed into the history of a past session, it relates to important events still transpiring, and the opinions upon which, expressed by certain honorable members in the course of the debate, bear

directly on the points we are discussing, and seem to require comment.

Mr. Gladstone, in recommending the adoption of practical measures in the question, propounds dangerous doctrine in the following opinion, that "the more they separated the question 'from the inculpation of individuals, the better:'"—and so, a vastly increased expenditure has been incurred on account of a distant colony, occasioning, partly, the maintenance of oppressive and vexatious taxes upon the professional and mercantile classes in England; powerful tribes bordering upon that colony, and in friendly alliance with us, have been exasperated into determined hostility, by a system of uncalled-for interference and wanton insults; our own subjects on the frontier have been rendered disaffected; and finally, a barbarous war of extermination have been excited, bearing in its train, disgraceful reverses at first, and ultimately enormous expense to the mother-country—and the people of England, who have a right to enquire, are to be told that "nobody's to blame." This doctrine would tend to absolve all officers and employes of Government, of whatever rank or degree, in whatever office or department, from the only efficient check-rein to misconduct—responsibility. Colonial Governors more especially, and all men undertaking the control of our relations with foreign powers, ought to be subjected to the full force of individual responsibility, for it is for themselves to weigh well the Horatian precept, before undertaking important duties, and to consider what their shoulders can bear. With this class of Government employes, no rule appears to us more just than that *success* should be held, *à postérieure*, as the test of qualification. It matters little, what presumption of diplomatic talent a man may afford to the official clique, how profoundly soever read in Vattel and Grotius, how deeply soever versed in jurisprudence and political economy—if he fail in any duty he undertook, his failure is of itself conclusive evidence—however clever a red tapist he may be, and however clearly he may prove, that he ought to have succeeded—that he is deficient in some one or more of the thousand personal qualities, which, more than official qualifications, contribute to a statesman's success, more especially with semi-civilized races:—that in short he is not the man for that meridian.

Applying the principle in question to the case in point, it may be inferred that Her Majesty's ministers recognized its soundness, as they would appear to have acted upon it, when reviewing Sir H. Smith's earlier proceedings. For, referring to the Governor's earlier meetings with the chiefs, and his

mountebank conduct thereat, as reported by himself, it is impossible but that my Lord Grey and his colleagues must, in their secret official hearts, have thought his proceedings strange and eccentric to the verge of insanity : yet, if they had remonstrated with him in sober official seriousness upon the apparent illegality of usurping the great chief's rank and dignity, or on the inexpediency of reviving, in the present enlightened day, an institution of the dark ages in the rule of the despot's baton, degraded further by the substitution of a "brass knob" for the iron crown—Sir Harry would have had just ground, we conceive, to complain of the interference of the Colonial Office with his high functions, and have been justified in replying to the grave objections which had been taken to his policy : "but it SUCCEEDS!" So long then as the Kaffirs were quiet, and cultivated friendly relations with us, no exception was taken to Sir H. Smith's proceedings, credit being given them for wisdom, notwithstanding the strangeness of the garb in which the divine essence had, in that instance, clothed itself. But with this liberal toleration and forbearance from interference, the entire responsibility with respect to results, rested obviously with the Governor. And this is as it should be.

Then the honorable member for Sheffield stands up and delivers a speech, a thoroughly honest speech, breathing a bold stand-and-deliver tone, quite refreshing to read in these latter degenerate days of cant in morality, and petty larceny in crime : "We are civilized and strong—the Kaffirs barbarous and weak, 'so we seize their broad lands as a matter of course!" Bravo, Mr. Roebuck! Out with it like a man. No "false modesty or false philanthropy" here, certainly. The Anglo-Saxons did the same in North America, why should we not do so in South Africa? "Because, (Mr. Hume might answer) 'simply because *it won't pay!*'" For, with the exception of the seaboard, and a few favored spots which were pitched upon by the early settlers, and are now towns, the land of the interior of the colony, and beyond it, of Caffraria, is without water, and, consequently, in the dry climate of the Cape, utterly unfit for agriculture, though well enough adapted for pastoral purposes. The colonists, therefore, who settle in those wastes, spread themselves out so as to command each sufficient pasturage for his herds. Thus dwelling apart, they fall into the nomadic state, one but little removed from primitive barbarism. No appreciable revenue to the state can be expected from such colonists, and the high end of civilization, for which Mr. Roebuck was prepared to do



violence to his tender conscience, can clearly not be attained here, for civilization can only progress in communities, and the nature of the soil, as we have shown, cannot support communities.

Mr. Vernon Smith and Mr. F. Scott seem impressed with a belief, that the Kaffirs are such irreclaimable savages, that we could never be at peace with them. We will adduce a few extracts from authorities, who speak from intimate personal acquaintance with the race, calculated to convey truer and more just notions of the character of the people we have to deal with. This, indeed, seems an essential preliminary to the proposed measures, to be detailed presently, for establishing future friendly relations with them.

Of the naturally kind disposition of the Kaffirs, the cordial hospitality they showed to the crew of an American ship, the *Hercules*, wrecked on their coast, is sufficient proof. The commander, Captain Stouts, describes the treatment received at the hands of Kaffirs, in the following words:—"Cast with sixty of my people on the shore of Kaffirland, I found in the natives a hospitality, and received from them protection, which, in Europe, I might have sought in vain; we were unarmed, not having saved from the wreck a single article, either for our defence or subsistence. In this situation we were completely at the mercy of the natives, but instead of revenging the wrongs they and their predecessors had endured at the hands of the savage Whites, they made us fires and gave us subsistence."

Mr. Attorney-General Bannister writes, page 45:—" *Humane policy*.—It is a misapprehension only beginning to be removed, that the natives do not duly estimate the great principles of international law, and even the regular procedure of courts. The foundation of many diplomatic usages are distinctly traceable in South Africa; and the substance, with often not a little of the tediousness of judicial proceedings, may be met with there. It deserves notice that the Kaffirs, at our requisition, lately condemned four murderers with clearest justice, who would probably have escaped by English prosecution. They were Kaffirs who had killed two British soldiers without provocation."

Colonel Sutherland writes, page 449:—"I hear many people say, that amongst the native tribes of South Africa, it was one perpetual scene of contention and massacre. But surely this is not a philosophical view of the matter; for if that had been the case, the native tribes would

‘ have been reduced to the condition of the Kilkenny cats,  
 ‘ long before Europeans came among them. It is natural for  
 ‘ the European and Christian to adopt this view of the matter,  
 ‘ in the hope of palliating the atrocities which the Europeans  
 ‘ and Christians have committed against the Aborigines where  
 ‘ they have yet come in contact. Let any one travel through  
 ‘ Kaffirland, and see how native institutions work there, and  
 ‘ then say whether such things arise from rapine and massacre,  
 ‘ or from any want of power on the part of the Aborigines to  
 ‘ manage their own affairs in their own way, and so as to pro-  
 ‘ duce great internal comfort and prosperity, if only left to  
 ‘ themselves. Let him again reflect on the comparative repose  
 ‘ produced within our own border by the late proceedings of  
 ‘ His Excellency the Governor of the colony, by merely treat-  
 ‘ ing the Kaffirs on terms of reciprocity, and holding the chiefs  
 ‘ responsible for aggressions committed beyond the limits which  
 ‘ he had assigned to each chiefship.”

Again :—“ There are capabilities in the Kaffirs, which may  
 ‘ hereafter develop themselves, and render them capable of fol-  
 ‘ lowing us under good discipline, good treatment, and good  
 ‘ pay, to fight our battles in any part of the world.”

Elsewhere, in commenting on Colonel Collins’s despatch of  
 1809 :—“ It is not difficult to see, that had the colony been for-  
 ‘ tunate enough long to retain Colonel Collins’s services, his un-  
 ‘ derstanding and foresight would soon have devised a scheme  
 ‘ to settle all the frontier difficulties. He would have seen that  
 ‘ engagements of a reciprocal character might, with safety, have  
 ‘ been negotiated with the Kaffirs, that they were capable of  
 ‘ becoming, through treaties offensive and defensive, good and  
 ‘ faithful allies; and that corps might be formed of the native  
 ‘ tribes, disciplined by British officers, sufficient, at all times,  
 ‘ not only to control the native tribes themselves, but to reduce  
 ‘ the farmers, and keep them to a sense of their duty and  
 ‘ allegiance.”

It would be easy to adduce multiplied testimonies in favour  
 of the Kaffirs; but enough, we hope, has been brought forward  
 to satisfy all unprejudiced minds, that we may safely treat with  
 that people, if we do so in a spirit of justice, good faith, and  
 liberal reciprocity in minor matters. But the war is still raging.  
 This brings us to the last and most important point we proposed  
 to consider;—the means which may seem most expedient for  
 bringing the war to a satisfactory conclusion, and placing our  
 relations with the Kaffirs on a footing of probable tranquillity  
 for the future.

In the first place, the military operations now in progress,

must be allowed full scope, until the Kaffirs shall be thoroughly beaten, driven out of the Amalotas and beyond the Kye, which river several good authorities have concurred with our author, in considering the best possible frontier on the East. Future measures of conciliation would naturally be misunderstood, and lead to mischief instead of working permanent good, unless we first establish that salutary dread of our power, which, since the sword is drawn, is only to be done by inflicting signal chastisement upon the enemy, and making him feel, in the loss of a cherished tract of territory, a perpetual sense of his defeat. But as the prosecution of active military operations must be regarded solely as the means of forcing the Kaffirs to sue for peace, in order that, in the hour of victory, we may, with good grace, admit them to the privilege of accepting our terms, and as future conciliation enters as an element into the present scheme for settling our differences with that race, the instrument of the chastisement above indicated as the indispensable preliminary to negotiation, obviously ought not to be the present Governor, who has openly declared his opinion that the only mode of dealing with the Kaffirs is to exterminate them, and has not scrupled to call on the settlers, by public official proclamation, to rise and aid him in the work of extermination, holding out, as a bribe, the license to pillage. The war carried on under such a General would necessarily be interminable, for the proposed extermination of a race, who have the whole continent of Africa as the base of their operations, seems an impossibility. Such a leader, naturally exasperated by the failure of his policy, and attributing the blame to the Kaffirs, instead of his own erroneous measures, could scarcely be expected to be 'willing to admit the enemy to terms, or they, on their part,' be disposed to trust him, even if ever apparently inclined to mercy. Why should the interests of the mother-country, which are seriously affected by the expense of protracted war—of humanity, which are outraged by this war of extermination—and of civilization, which must suffer from the demoralizing effect on our own subjects, of the license under which they have been called into the field;—why should these high interests, we ask, any longer be sacrificed by Sir H. Smith's being maintained in the government of a colony, for which he has shown himself so lamentably unfit? But this is a question for Her Majesty's ministers to decide according to their collective wisdom.\*

\* This paragraph is rendered superfluous by events that have occurred since the preparation of the present article.—Ed.

Assuming peace to have been restored, then, on the advantageous basis of complete and crushing victory over the Kaffirs, and the absolute occupation of the disputed tract lying between the Keiskama and Kye Rivers, the measures requisite to keep them in check, and calculated to lead them eventually to cultivate friendly relations with us in good faith, remain to be considered.

Reverting, then, to our author's scheme, military colonies should be established on the right or western bank of the River Kye, supported by local corps posted on the second line, and having a body of regulars as a reserve on the base of this defensive plan. The strength of the supports and reserve to be regulated according to circumstances: posted, at first, in considerable force, they might be gradually reduced, as the organization of the military colonies became more and more complete, and matters on the frontier settled down. This desirable result would be greatly accelerated by organizing a Burgher militia for defensive operations. All being interested in the tranquillity of the frontier, would doubtless gladly enrol themselves.

Further incentive to do so might, and on every consideration ought, to be held out to them, by giving the commissions in the colonial forces to members of this class. Simultaneously with these arrangements for the defence of the frontier, our political relations with the Kaffirs would have to be re-adjusted.

The mere machinery for the conduct of the same has already been organized, very nearly on the Indian model as suggested by our author. Only it is recommended, page 35, that "the Agent General should exercise a much more efficient control over the proceedings of the resident agents on the spot, to ensure uniformity of system throughout—which, while that high functionary resides far away from the border, is impracticable."

But it is in regard to the principles and general policy upon which those political relations should be conducted, that our author's liberal and statesmanlike views would seem more particularly worthy of observation.

The first and most essential point upon which he dwells, is that the Kaffirs should be treated as, what they in fact are, independent tribes, and not as British subjects—that we should recognize and respect the power and authority of the Kaffir chiefs over their respective tribes, and forming treaties with them, do all in our power to strengthen their hands, and look to them alone for redress of injuries inflicted by their subjects

upon ours. This is the fundamental line of policy, which, as having been found to work so admirably in India, our author again and again reiterates, and the total departure from which has been the primary cause of the present war.

Keeping this in view, the treaties with the chiefs, we would recommend, should be negotiated on the basis sketched under the third head of the minute—protection on our side, acknowledgment of supremacy and subordinate co-operation, if required, on theirs, with absolute authority in their own dominions, and entire control over their internal affairs. Based on such treaties, a liberal policy, consistently carried out in a just and conciliatory spirit, by a strong and steady hand, could not fail, in our opinion, to establish permanent peace with the border tribes on a fixed and invariable frontier.

But not only as touching our neighbours on the frontier, must our policy be modified. The relations of the British Government at the Cape, with its own subjects, must be placed on a widely different, and far more just and liberal footing, than has obtained throughout the whole period of our possession of the Cape colony, if we desire, as is natural, their love and loyal co-operation, instead of their hatred, secret defection, and in certain cases, open hostility.

It was in contemplation, we may presume, of the wretched condition of the British population, scattered over desert wastes, and pushing still farther on into the wilderness, to escape beyond the influence of our hated rule, that our author, in his letter to the Colonial Secretary, under date 31st October, 1844 (page 574), adverted to the probable advantage which would accrue to ourselves and our subjects by relinquishing all our possessions at the Cape, except three districts, Cape, Stellenbosch and Swellendam, with any other ports or places required for imperial purposes. The advantages to our subjects, indicated by the project, were, that by compression, they would become a prosperous agricultural and manufacturing community, instead of, as now, being scattered, segregated and forlorn, in isolated patches, over boundless tracts, and thus, in fact, relapsing into the same barbarous condition as the Aborigines. The present settlers, however, would scarcely be ready, we fear, to recognize the future advantage to themselves, or their children, of a measure which demands, in the first instance, the abandonment of their homesteads, and holds out ultimately the uninviting prospect of having to work hard as agriculturists or artisans for their subsistence, instead of finding it, as heretofore, in the lazy indolent life of graziers. The advantage to the British

Government, as indicated, in having a large and industrious population, located on a few rich tracts, yielding a large revenue, and circumscribed by an easily defensible frontier, is clear enough : but this should have been thought of from the first. It is too late now, we fear, and it only remains to make the best we can of the bargain we have sold ourselves. Nor does the case seem to us at all desperate, if we will only, as above suggested, treat our subjects well, and enlist them in developing the resources of the country, such as they are, instead of driving them, by misrule, to migrate to other parts. The good treatment here advocated is no difficult task, demanding high administrative talent. On the contrary, it simply means, let them alone, and recognize in British subjects at the Cape, of all races, hues and complexions—whether English, Dutch or Aboriginal, or any, or every cross of these—recognize in all the natural inheritors of the soil, capable of understanding their own interests, and as free men, entitled, as an inherent and inalienable privilege, to manage their own affairs in their own way, and to hold civil offices under the Colonial Governments. We have seen how exclusion from respectable offices first alienated, and injudicious intermeddling completed the estrangement of our valuable Dutch subjects, and drove them forth in thousands from under our rule. We have seen the colonists, even at the seat of Government, nearly driven into rebellion, by being debarred the boon of self-government, which is incontestably their right, while a more liberal policy would not fail to attach them firmly to the mother-country. The letters patent of 23rd May, 1850, granting a constitution to the Cape colony, were hailed with acclamation. Under the auspices of a well-intentioned and just Governor, the legislature, first nominated provisionally, would have proceeded, in conformity with their *ad interim* functions, to constituent legislation. And in due course, a legally elected colonial parliament would have framed ordinances, and passed laws, adapted to the exigencies of the period. But lamentably did Sir H. Smith contravene practically the liberal intentions of the Home Government, by calling on the nominated council to proceed with ordinary legislation—pass money bills retrospectively—adopt, and thereby take the responsibility of all the Governor's past public measures, frame ordinances for future enactments, &c. &c.—all parliamentary business which the council in its provisional form was not competent to enter upon. The members, on this difference, resign ; whereupon the Governor arbitrarily and despotically carries on the Government of

the colony, with no other aid or check than a mock legislative council, composed of members of his own nomination. Thus far the blame rested entirely with Sir H. Smith. But then came the confirmation and unreserved support of all his unconstitutional acts, by the Colonial Office—a weighty responsibility for a minister to incur, having to answer for his conduct to a British parliament. And, indeed, it would seem as if the Home Administration had shrunk from the prospect of attempting to justify such a policy; for the draft ordinances relating to the long promised, long withheld constitution, were at length transmitted, for we have advices of their arrival at Cape Town, and of the general satisfaction the event has occasioned.

It is not too much to hope or expect, that the boon of free Government, and the sense of its responsibilities, may lead the local Government to adopt effective measures for settling all our differences with the Kaffirs, and this without sacrificing the interests of the frontier colonists, although distinct in a great measure from those of the metropolitans. The borderers being fairly represented in the colonial parliament, will be the security against class legislation to their prejudice.

The possibility of any line of policy, however ably administered, availing to maintain a state of peace between the Cape Government and the Kaffirs, will be doubted by a large class, who are of opinion, that where the civilized man and the savage meet, hostile collisions must ensue, and endure, as of necessity, until the savage, if the weaker party, shall be exterminated. And, certainly, the history of our possession of the Cape colony, looking only to events, without advertence to causes, would seem to furnish such persons with additional grounds for their faith. Still, while admitting the result indicated as inevitable, we do not think that the means or mode of its coming about must necessarily be that of violent collisions. On the contrary, we believe that the extinction of the savage, as an independent power, when brought into contact with a more powerful civilized one, may be produced either by assimilation of character, which, though rare under the circumstances, is, of course, the object to be sought by the superior intelligence,—or less happily, but more commonly, by the sense of security afforded by a protectorate power, inducing in the savage an entire suspension of the active exertions called forth by his former precarious existence. Abandoning himself then to the unbridled indulgence of his animal propensities, physical degeneracy ensues, under which he sinks, and the race, in a few generations, dies

out. The savage disappears before the civilized man, simply by the operation of what may be termed the law of political fusion—respecting which it was beautifully said by Lord Metcalfe, in writing on the conquest of Sindh, a result he predicted from the negotiations of the Indian Government with the amirs in 1831, or '32, and the opening of which he at the time deprecated:—"What a fatality attends us in India! 'We cannot touch without destroying.'" Let us keep steadily in view, then, this law of the political world, in determining now the basis for our future relations with the Kaffirs. Let us take a close survey of their country; and if we find in it, as we apprehend, none of the conditions under which any country can become a profitable acquisition to a distant empire, boundless tracts of land quite shut out, as by a pall, from the favoring rains of heaven, and destitute, moreover, of any means of artificial irrigation; rivers unnavigable from rapids; and its sea board an iron bound coast; if we find this vast region for the greater part uninhabited, or traversed by fierce tribes of nomades—if such be the uninviting character of the country bordering the Cape colony, our true policy obviously is to limit our intercourse with the barbarous tribes occupying the same, to simply controlling their external relations, and to have as little as possible to say to their internal affairs, lest by the operation of the law above indicated, the fragile dominion of our rude allies totter with our touch, and crumbling fall under our hands. We must not here indulge the visions of "barbaric pearls and gold," which, in other climes and other times, have rewarded the conqueror's toil; or we may awake to the ruinous reality of a further extension to our already too extended and costly conquest, which even now we are wishing, but in vain, to get rid of.

The political views propounded in the work under review, have appeared to us of such paramount importance at the present juncture, and have accordingly been discussed at such length, that we must forego the task of considering, as fully as we would have wished, the comparisons instituted by our author between the rude feudalism of the Kaffirs and that obtaining in Rajputana, and further, the analogies he draws between the Aborigines of South Africa and those of India; the Bhíl and Bosjeman; the Rajput and Kaffir; the Hot-tentot and native of the Indian coast. Referring our readers then to the pages of the memoir itself, for fuller information regarding the tribes it treats of, and promising that it will be found replete with interest, we will conclude by observing, that,



as few have had such opportunities as our author of acquiring a practical knowledge of the peculiar characteristics of wild tribes, and of watching the operations of the institutions under which they live—as few have ever equalled, none surpassed him, in the successful management of such tribes. The suggestions contained in his memoir on the Kaffirs for conducting our relations with that race, and which we have attempted to embody in the foregoing pages, would appear to be eminently worthy of the earnest consideration of Her Majesty's minister for the colonies.

The work is dedicated to Lord Metcalfe, as a small token of the author's "affection and gratitude for such friendship and support, through a long period of years, as it has seldom been the good fortune of one man to experience at the hands of another." Lord Metcalfe was long Colonel Sutherland's official chief in India; and those among our readers, who may be conversant with the noble motives and enlightened principles which guided that great man's public career, will not have failed to recognize, in many of our author's opinions, the impress of the school in which he was trained. These opinions, then, of the disciple, derive additional weight from the authority of his illustrious master.

ART. VI.—1. *The Friend of India.*

2. *Petition presented to Parliament by the British India Association.*
3. *Petition of the Calcutta Missionary Conference.*
4. *Petition of the Bombay Association.*
5. *Petition of the Christian Inhabitants of Bengal.*

WE shall make no apology for saying a few more words on the one important subject, which at present engages so much of the attention of local and periodical writers—the future Government of India. So long as the results of the Parliamentary investigation remain uncertain, so long will writers of all sorts, patriots true and false, special pleaders, honest and impartial advocates of reform, grievance-mongers by profession, and committees and associations, successively come forward with their strictures and suggestions, and their several plans for the regeneration of this country, in which good sense and extravagance, selfishness and public spirit, will be curiously commingled. We shall, however, abstain from coming forward with any plan, cut and dried, for the improvement of the general administration, and shall confine ourselves to a few remarks on several of the most notable opinions which have lately been propounded on this subject, whether by societies, patriots, or peers.

Among the points which naturally attract the most frequent criticism and animadversion, in connection with the Government of India, are the constitution, the attainments, and the general efficiency of the Civil Service. The reason of this is so obvious, as to require little comment. The situations filled by civilians are numerous, varied, and important. The emoluments attached to those situations are considerable. The advantages of the profession, generally, are great. The pensions bestowed after the usual period of service, secure to individuals an honourable competence in the evening of life. The degree of capacity, with which the various posts are filled; and the duties of the Executive Government are discharged; affects every body in the remotest degree interested in the collection of the land revenue, the prevention of crime, the security and transfer of real property, the administration of civil and criminal justice, the maintenance of two great monopolies in particular localities of the empire, and the general character of the Executive Government throughout the length and breadth of the four presidencies. The above are powerful

incentives to men to speak out. And thus all persons who wish for ample remuneration while they are at work, or for good pensions, when the work is done, or for prominence and elevation, or for situations for their sons and connections, or for a good and efficient administration everywhere, and for the enhanced civilisation, the moral reform, and the intellectual progress, of the native community, have been busied for the last year, in giving free utterance to their opinions as to the best mode of improving the character of the Civil Service, and of infusing into it—we use the stereotyped phrase adopted on these occasions—some new blood. The line of argument taken up by the supporters of this plan is somewhat as follows: by those, we mean, who do not speak of the Civil Service in terms of rabid, rancorous and unmeasured abuse, and whose opinion alone has any claims to be heard. The Civil Service contains a fair proportion of talent, and has exhibited, in every generation, some signal instances of splendid statesmanship and undoubted capacity. As a body, it stands in bright and prominent contrast to any body of men occupied with the details of Civil Government in any dependency of the Crown. But it has its large proportion of drones, its brigade of incapables, its hard bargains from Leadenhall. Its salaries and remunerations are too high for these days of universal competition, proximity to England, and cheap workmanship. The judicial training is deficient. The rule of seniority stifles much energy, merit, and talent. The uncovenanted officers, who have often displayed great judgment and executive capacity, are precluded from rising to places of real emolument and trust. All this must be remedied. There is a vast quantity of serviceable talent and redundant activity at home, which is loudly calling for employment. This said talent overflows at the Universities, at public schools, at divers new colleges, proprietary or otherwise, on the outskirts of all learned professions, in the fens of Lincolnshire, in the plains of Wilts, in the dingy and murky atmosphere of the city. It lurks unnoticed in corners, unpatronized in the public places: it is carried by the mere force and pressure of circumstances into every profession in life; it waits, hopeful and hopeless, at every avenue to eminence; it emigrates in despair to Australia; it clears the backwoods of America; it guides the steam-ship and the train in this generation. It may be forced in the next, to guide the loom and the plough.

That there is a good deal of real, sterling, ability in England, which, somewhere about the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, finds itself rather at a loss, sometimes for a profession, and

sometimes for bread, is all very true. The question is—how is it to be got at? Shall a proclamation be issued, calling on all respectable fathers who have three or four well-educated sons, articulated to Conveyancers, to send up the most promising of them for examination, on a certain day, at the India House, or the Board of Control? Shall a fixed number of appointments be reserved for competition, like fellowships, at both the universities, amongst such first class men or wranglers as may doubt the possibility of their attaining to the Great Seal, or ever wearing lawn sleeves? Are we to look to the noted public schools as the reservoirs which shall fertilize the barrenness of the governing body, and exuberantly repay the patronage of the Directors? Or, lastly, shall we seek to replenish our store only from India, and continuing to send out, under the present system, one-half of the Civil Service from England, retain the other half of the appointments for a distribution in India, which, exempt from partiality and from all interested motives, shall present to the admiring world, a spectacle of honest and judicious patronage, such as was never before witnessed? The advocates for a wider circulation of directorial bounty have been wonderfully united in their cry for a hunt after unrecognised merit, but they have, most of them, been ominously silent as to the details of the search. Nothing is easier than to get up a vague and indistinct clamour of this kind, or more true than to assert that the places of several members of the Civil Service might be more ably and efficiently filled by men, who, from the sheer want of a patron, are curates in England on £80 a year, or are driven to reporting debates in the House of Commons. But a driftless cry of this sort will do no good to any one. There is nothing for it, but to examine the various plans for increasing the efficiency of the Civil Service, and see whether any of them will stand a test. We believe that, putting aside for the present Lord Ellenborough's plan of recruiting from the army, to which we shall advert presently, the specific means of attaining the desired object, which have been hinted at by various writers, may be summed up as follows. 1, To bestow a certain number of appointments on the great public schools. 2, To break down the wall of partition between the covenanted and the uncovenanted service. 3, To give one-half of the Indian appointments to natives. 4, To leave a larger proportion of appointments with the Crown, to be given to the sons of deserving officers, of widows, and of poor curates, or to qualified candidates, wherever they are to be met with in the friction and bustle of civilized and over-crowded professions. Of the above proposals, which we

believe to be those into which the whole cry against the present monopoly may be resolved, it appears to us that the first is the only one which will bear the test of a rigid examination. As to recruiting from the Universities, the experiment would be, in our opinion, dangerous and rash. Graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, generally speaking, would be too old for the work, and most certainly, though we might occasionally get a man with all the best spirit of Alma Mater strong in him, we should not catch many Wranglers, medallists, Smith's prizemen, or Ireland scholars. Nor, will it be said, is this the stamp of men we require. We want thoughtful, energetic, judicious workers. But granting that some such might be found at either University willing to come to India, are we to take one-half of our Civil Service, varying in age from twenty-three to twenty-six, and the other half at the age of nineteen or twenty? And is there no risk in tearing men away from England just at the very time when they are beginning firmly to link themselves with, and keenly to relish, all that is attractive and elevating in, the struggle for existence *at home*: the restless energy, the diversified information, the temperate desire for independence, the firmness, and philanthropy, the modest self-reliance, the quiet consistency and moral earnestness, all in short, which more or less exalts, refines, and adorns the natural character, as it is seen in some one of the thousand walks of English life? Have not men of practised judgment deemed it absolutely essential, that those who are to fill all the executive posts of importance in the internal administration of the East, should be reft from England, and land in India, just when their character has acquired some consistency and firmness, without losing all its pliancy: just when the habits have been sufficiently disciplined, while the adaptiveness to work out new ends, and to engage in totally new pursuits, has not been quite lost? We must not allow the civilian to land in India at too early an age, but we must not let him take too deep root in England. The tree should be transplanted before the fibres have clung lovingly to the soil. We must have men who are not too old to take kindly to Indian work, and who are not too young to have been unimpressed by all the best, most genial, and most purifying influences of English society and civilization. Thus, we have questioned the power of the Universities to furnish a sufficient complement of Indian workmen, and we altogether deny the policy of the measure, even if the power were unquestioned.

We next come to the union of the covenanted and uncovenanted services. There is something more plausible at first sight in this measure. Many men not in the Civil Service; it is allowed,

perform their work well. They are efficient in the revenue, the police, and judicial departments; they decide civil suits affecting questions of vast importance, and sums of money of great amount; they check smuggling and illicit traffic in salt: they are entrusted with large disbursements of money, and a very considerable responsibility, in the superintendence of the poppy cultivation. They know all the details in their several branches, and they are quite capable of grasping the important bearings of the whole. Why should these men, who bear so much of the burden, be debarred from the profit? Why should their conversancy with the working of the department, and their thorough knowledge of *minutiæ*, debar them from the attainment of the chief places in their respective lines? Now, it is with no desire of depreciating the services of a valuable body of men, that we assert the Uncovenanted Service, as it is termed, to be composed of very diversified, and heterogenous, and uncertain elements. Of that body, it is well known, many individuals are natives, Mussulmans and Hindus of divers castes; many are East Indians, born and educated entirely in the country; and some few are Englishmen, who have obtained employment under Government by merit or favour, but, probably, after trying their hands at one or two other professions, only to meet there with failure or disappointment. It is not surely contended, that the barriers of exclusiveness should be at once thrown open, so as to admit a rush of aspirants from all quarters: East Indians and natives, men who have been rusticated from the Universities, briefless, but clever barristers, and adventurers trying their luck in one more cast for a livelihood. There must, we suppose, still be a constituted Service of some kind, the members of which shall all have passed through the prescribed course of examinations and trials, at home. To say that the service is an exclusive service—that no man can rise to eminence or independent control, who has not the words C. S. attached to his name—is to say nothing more than what is the case with every post open to officers in the Queen's and Company's armies, with the Royal and Indian Navies, with the legal and medical professions, with the church, with every constituted body in short, which is hedged in by definite barriers, graduated on fixed principles, and controlled by certain laws. Of course, it will be said in reply to this, that in the Civil Service there are no blanks, but all are prizes. Without the learning, the discipline, and the arduous toil of the law, without the science and the skill of the physician and surgeon, without the scholarship, the uncompromising devotion, or the ennobling eloquence of the sacred minister, members of this exclusive service, it will be said, are, from the hour

of their landing, relieved from all forethought as to their daily requirements, and provided with salaries amply sufficient to supply them with all the legitimate conveniences of life. Increased emoluments are simply the natural and unfailing consequences of good health and protracted residence: these emoluments are neither curtailed by inactivity, nor entirely stopped by sickness, nor always suspended by absence. In short, the whole aim and scope of the laws of this favoured service are to promote to high places or comfortable salaries the mediocrity which quietly slumbers within the service, and to exclude from the same posts the undoubted merit and the acknowledged efficiency which hopelessly boils and ferments without it. There may be some occasional truth in all these objections, which are so constantly urged against the Civil Service, but they form no sort of argument for doing away with a Civil Service of some kind or other, or for breaking down the impassable barriers which must always hedge in any selected body of men, whose professional lives are devoted to one particular class of duties in the employment of the state. Moreover, in spite of all patriotism and noisy philanthropy, it may fairly be questioned, whether the men who cry out against the service, would be satisfied with anything less than admission within the pale on the same terms as are now the lot of civilians. And whatever means may be devised by that cautious wisdom, which seeks not to subvert but to improve existing institutions, in order to raise the standard of acquirements generally, and to infuse vigour, earnestness, and energy into the mass, we shall maintain it as a fundamental axiom, necessary to a good Eastern Administration, that the members of the executive service shall be chosen at about the same age, shall be disciplined at the same English institution, shall pass through the same ordeal of examinations, attend the same course of lectures, eat commons at the same table, loiter in the same quadrangle, row on the same river, sport in the same cricket field, sleep within the same walls. If matters not whether the locality shall be just below Hertford Heath, or in some college on the banks of the Cam or the Isis, under that improvement on Haileybury, which has been suggested by some, for whose opinion we have great deference: but we maintain that, in spite of its tendency to generate exclusiveness and hauteur, to restrict ideas within a contracted sphere, and to narrow the range, or blunt the edge of the sympathies, an *esprit de corps* is, after all, to a certain extent, a necessary and a good thing. There may be faults in every system, but we prefer that plan which takes a set of young men at the most favourable age, places them together in a college as expensive, we may observe, to parents

as Oxford or Cambridge, where the aim and object of their lives is constantly kept before their eyes, which affords them opportunities of gaining knowledge literally unattainable elsewhere, preserves English ideas, excites emulation, inculcates discipline, and sets on each member the stamp and seal of a peculiar caste, to any plan which vaguely calculates on efficiently providing for the administration of the country from diversified materials, collected under no system, and which, in the end, could only be made up into a body devoid of unity of purpose, similarity of shape, and reciprocity of feeling. And to put aside all arguments on the merits or expediency of the case, do men really imagine that if the patronage of the Court of Directors were to cease, and the character of the Civil Service were to be materially altered to-morrow, the selection of candidates to fill the requisite number of appointments, would be quietly surrendered to Governors of Presidencies in India, or if so surrendered, would be characterized by that rigid impartiality, that absence of favouritism, and that search for genuine merit and sterling worth, which should stifle all objections, and lull all discontent to sleep? It is our firm belief, that one exclusive service would just be supplanted by another, possessing none of the good qualities of its predecessor, and more than the average of its faults and deficiencies. To recruit or repair the executive service effectively from an Indian source, seems to us not merely inexpedient, but impossible. It has been observed by impartial public writers, unconnected with the Service, that were four hundred civilians to die to-morrow, there could not be found four hundred men in India, qualified, on the instant, to step into their places. Nor, granting that a want creates a supply, can we be content to depend on chance for recruiting that body out here. For generations to come, its roll must be filled up from home. Can it be really supposed that a requisite staff of Europeans can ever be sown, grown, and nurtured out here?—and is it probable, that a number of good steady men would ever regularly, year by year, proceed to India for the mere chance of eventually obtaining employment under Government? An able and energetic public servant, not in the Civil Service, and debarred from high place, may be most unluckily situated, and one or two of the drones of the Service may be very lucky men; but this will hardly be deemed a reason for altering the whole frame and constitution of the administrative and executive staff. We have only to look at a Crown Colony, to see the results of the vague and indiscriminate fashion after which appointments to office are there made; or at the Ceylon and the Indian Civil Services, to recognize the comparative efficiency of one body, selected on no



e, and subjected to no previous discipline, and of another body, trained and drilled with that scrupulous exclusiveness which is so often decried. In short, we do not doubt that we shall carry most readers along with us, when we resolutely maintain that provision for the filling of all posts, both high, of importance, and of average responsibility, in this country, must be made almost exclusively at home. We may clamour for higher qualifications, a more rigid ordeal, greater care in selection, a wider field for choice, a better material, a new vein of ore, but we must busy ourselves about all this, in England, and in England alone. As for the idea of admitting natives to the Civil Service, as Agents, Collectors, Magistrates and Secretaries, or Heads of districts and provinces, or Councillors, it will be time to consider this part of the plan in the review or periodical, or monthly magazine, or *Calcutta Daily*, which may be in existence in the year 1953.

We then fall back on the only proposals left us, those of leaving a larger proportion of nominations at the disposal of the Crown, or of giving two or three, or a larger proportion, to be competed for at each of the great public schools. There is, it must be confessed, something in the last plan which appears both plausible and sound. At the public schools, the selection is large, the system is uniform. These are places where emulation has been excited, discipline systematically enforced, a manly spirit inculcated, a reverence for law and a regard for rough equity, fair play, and substantial justice, been nurtured and cherished as a fundamental law. There, are marvellously united the training of the body and the training of the mind: the latter based on a system which has stood the test of centuries, modified only by the various requirements of an advancing age; the former, the spontaneous growth of the mere restlessness and activity of exuberant animal life. There, in short, are seen, side by side, now in harmonious co-operation, now in direct antagonism, the keen relish for physical enjoyment, the spirit of antiquity, influencing thought, forming the speech, guiding the pen, and the spirit of progress, the same which urges on the steam-ship, the telegraph, and the rail. Year after year some hundreds of boys there undergo that general training, which, though it does not, and cannot lead directly to any of the practical walks of life, renders its votary, from its comprehensive character and its solid foundation, calculated to grapple hereafter with the realities of any active or learned profession. Here, moreover, we have the advantage of making a selection when the future destination being unknown or uncertain there are no ties to be severed, no wrenches to be undergone, and, compara-

tively, no violence to be offered to cherished faith and ambitious yearnings. Two appointments or so a year, offered to each of the public schools, might draw forth active competition, and secure, in all ordinary chances, two qualified and working men. It may be that the man of most exquisite and refined talent, of the keenest perception, the most brilliant thought, would not be attracted by the prospect of an exile in India: that the ripe and triumphant scholar of the day would look scornfully on a proposal to exchange his prospective Bishopric or college dignity, nay, his Exhibition, or Fellowship, or country living in the distance, for a laborious but lucrative life of toil in the East.

Cur valles permutem Sabinâ  
Divitias operosiores ?

Or it may be, on the other hand, that the successful candidate is not, after all, the kind of man we want: we may get a man who would have been excellently qualified to lecture, term after term, on the Nicomachean Ethics, or to expound the difficulties of the Integral Calculus, but who would be quite out of place in dealing with Zemindars or Panches, in catching dacoits and burglars, or in improving the course of vernacular education, or building drain-bridges and purifying bazaars. But this is obviously one of these chances from which no plan will be entirely secure. And there could be no room for the exercise of partiality here. But any arrangement of this sort must, of course, be provided for by distinct and positive enactment. It would not do to leave it optional with the President of the Board of Control, or with the members of the Court of Directors, or of any new Council, to give an occasional nomination to some public school, after all the claimants on their bounty had been satisfied. The distribution must be provided for beforehand on equitable principles, and zealously protected by adequate security, and the bounty must flow with regularity, or it will not be appreciated. The *theory* of an arrangement of this kind is, we think, unassailable. It embraces all the points most calculated to supply the service with some good stock: a wide field for selection, an honest competition, absence of partiality, prejudice, or favour. The perfect success of such an experiment must obviously remain an open question, and some inconveniences, practically, might be expected to arise in this, as in every other scheme.

As regards surrendering a larger portion of the Indian nominations to the Ministers of the Crown, we should much like to see a statement of the manner in which such patronage has, in other instances, been distributed. Will any one say that livings at the disposal of the Lord Chancellor have always been

given to the hardest working and best qualified curates, or that Governors of Colonies, and Chief Justices in the West Indian islands, have invariably been selected on grounds wholly unconnected with electioneering interest, or past political service? Occasionally, we doubt not, the minister of the day has presented the widow of some old Peninsular officer with an appointment, or has inducted into some rich and comfortable living, a pious, fervent, and orthodox divine. But the Court of Directors will as confidently point to numerous instances where provision has been made for the sons of officers who had fallen in battle against the Afghan and the Sikh. We shall continue to believe, that of the plans proposed, the extension of crown patronage, selection in India, fusion of the covenanted and uncovenanted Services, and competition at great public schools, the last is almost the only plan which promises to add to the present efficiency of the Indian civil staff.

The great point after all, which must first be ascertained with some definitiveness, is the amount of talent, integrity, and effectiveness, now comprised in the eight hundred civilians, who fill all the important posts in the Peninsula. To a certain extent, all men, adversaries and partisans, are here agreed. In that body there are some real statesmen, and some worthless drones. Thus much will not be denied by thorough-going friends or virulent opponents. The fiercest declamation against the nepotism of the service is usually prefaced by some tribute to the splendid instances of administrative talent, which, in each generation, have shed a lustre over the whole body. The most diligent asserter of the vested rights and unalterable privileges of magistrates and collectors is compelled to admit the existence of sundry incapable individuals, whom neither exhortation, nor threats, nor diminished emoluments, can rouse into energy, or shame into the semblance of virtue. Unscrupulous animosity can never slur over the brilliant statesmanship of a Metcalfe, the devotion of a Cleveland, the chivalrous daring and the irresistible fascination of a Clerk: nor can even Leadenhall-street itself refrain from an occasional lament over the hard fate of some thousands of ryots, whose temporal concerns may be entrusted to a civilian, who would have been almost unfitted for the place of a tide-waiter, or of third usher in a suburban academy. But the question will then arise—putting aside the extremes of talent and efficiency, which no body gainsays, are the drones exceptions, or are they a numerous and encreasing body? are they one-half, one-third, or a mere fraction of the Service? This is exactly the point on which,

out of twenty men, ten will have one opinion, and ten another; and we certainly shall not pretend dogmatically to solve the knot. Our own conscientious and deliberate opinion is, that the proportion of idle, heedless, and incapable servants is wonderfully small, and that the great body of the Service, owing to precept, example, excellent official training, and the mere love of work, which grows on men in this climate, acquire habits of business, promptness in decision, and care in execution, which are elsewhere unsurpassed. But other men, with fair opportunities of forming a judgment on the subject, will persist in reducing this description to a smaller circle; and hence the cry, consistently with such belief, for the opening of a new mine, and for more compulsory training. Of course no sensible man imagines that human foresight can ever devise a system of nomination, which shall ensure a highly competent and qualified person for every post, from that of a member of council to that of the assistant in charge of a sub-division. Under the best and purest distribution of patronage, there must be some mistakes in selection, some concessions to amiable weakness, family connection, and similar agencies. A late Governor of Bombay used to lament the actual *want* of sinecures. There were *not* enough places, he said, in which the number of incapables, which no great body is ever without, might rest in official insignificance and uninjurious ease. Undoubtedly it behoves all who have the welfare of India at heart to endeavour to reduce that number to a minimum; but this will hardly be effected by breaking down the barriers of any body, exclusive but regularly and systematically trained, in the hope that a higher and worthier material will come forth from some unknown quarter, or from all quarters, regularly stamped with all the outward evidences of efficiency and worth. Nor does it appear, on what principle ministers of the Crown should be more impartial in their selections than the magnates of Leadenhall in theirs, or why the stir and bustle of political action should result in the production of greater purity of intention than the comparatively quiet atmosphere in which Indian directors and claimants on India usually move.

A great deal has been said about the tendency of the present system of patronage to generate clanships in India, to divide a large number of appointments among brothers, cousins, and members of the same social circle, and to fill the Gazettes and the Directory with roll calls of names from the same parent-stock. The truth of these assertions is beyond all question. There are brothers two and three deep, fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, and cousins of divers degrees, all filling

appointments in various stages of the public service, at one and the same time. There are but few instances in which civilians have not some relation or connection of some kind in some one branch of the Indian services, or, at least, in which they have not had one in former years. These ties are still further cemented by marriage, and it has been jocularly said that a man marrying into certain families would have one-half of the covenanted branches for his connections. But even in this apparent anomaly, there are some points productive of real advantage, or calculated to mitigate the severity of censure. It is an advantage to secure for this country, active, honest, and willing workmen, who will take a pride in their profession, and devote thirty years of their lives to India, without indulging in vain regrets for a finer climate and a wider field in the West. Such men are naturally found in the sons and relatives of old civilians and soldiers. They come out to India as to a second home, and not to an exile. Their social sympathies, their household gods, their domestic charities, have all sprung from, and are kept alive in, the East. They are ready actively to embrace the duties of a profession in which their progenitors have won for themselves distinction, competence, or fame. They are *adscripti* to the Indian soil, but *adscripti* in the spirit of a free labourer and not in that of villeinage. It is not, we believe, in the nature of Englishmen, to be unimpressed with a sense of the duty and the responsibility entailed by paternal distinctions and transmitted worth: and that must be a rare case in which a young civilian, with much to bind him to India, with nothing strange, repugnant, or uninviting in the sound of an Indian career, shall enter on his duties in a heedless, discontented, or murmuring spirit. Again, take the equity of the present system of patronage. A civilian or a soldier comes out at an early age, spends thirty years in India, lays here the foundation of all his friendships, and must not wonder if, in the evening of life, he finds, at home, estranged faces, recollections only dimly surviving, and forgotten claims. It will be said that proximity to England by overland communication has done a great deal for old Indians. It has annihilated distance, reduced time and space, and removed a host of noxious prejudices. There is no reason why men in India should not now retain much of the freshness and keenness of their English feelings, why they should not be more at home on English topics of conversation, why, in short, they should be incumbrances by the English fire-side. No doubt rapid communication has done us all a great deal of good. English manufactures, apparel, domestic conveniences, books

of the newest stamp, periodical literature,<sup>1</sup> objects of art, the latest utilitarian discoveries, the freshest Parisian fashions, the raciest bon-mots, are only two months older in India than in England. In all these things the rapidity and the certainty of regular communication by steam has proved of incalculable advantage. But no regularity of intercourse by letter—not even a daily electric telegraph—can give to men, who must toil for the best part of their lives in India, the power of securing for their sons and relatives a position in any of the constituted professions at home. Except in rare cases, a man exiled in a foreign country, can have no opportunities of strengthening his interest in the Law, the Church, or in the English mercantile community. The bi-monthly mail will hardly avail him here. If he has any substantial claims, any powerful advocates, or any patrons high in place, they must all be looked for in purely Indian circles. Is there then anything to call for very just or great indignation, if a man of this sort does succeed in obtaining one or two Indian appointments for members of his family? Can it be much wondered at, if, connected as men in India are by friendships, associations, or domestic alliances, the patronage of desirable appointments should flow much in the same channel? And is there not a sort of prescriptive right possessed by soldiers and civilians devoid of interest in England, to look for provision for their descendants in the country and in the services to which they have devoted their best time and ability? Of course it is easy enough to select vulnerable points in the distribution of patronage, which is sought to be justified by such reasoning. The attack indeed may be made from the most opposite quarters, and on the most inconsistent grounds. At one time it may be said that Indian appointments ought not to be retained, like a monopoly, or an estate within a ring-fence, in the hands of a few families, and be jealously shut to an immense portion of the English public, anxious and willing to send forth labourers in abundance to the field. At another it will be urged that the very plea of providing for the sons and relatives of old Indian officers, who have nothing else to expect, falls to the ground before the well-proved assertion that the most deserving claimants, the widow and the orphan, whose main support perished under the privations of some Indian campaign, or died nobly on the field of battle, have had to prefer their suit to the dispensers of patronage in dull and dreary succession, and have experienced all the bitterness that can be experienced by a sensitive spirit, in crushed hopes and uncourteous refusals. Now, if will be said that the circle of appointments is too narrow: now, that

it is not half narrow enough. If a seat in the Direction be gained by a man of large Indian experience, connection, and ties, the cry is that the name he bears will be disseminated half over India. If, on the contrary, the new Director be a man totally unconnected with oriental subjects, we shall be warned of the danger of allowing such ignorant persons to administer the affairs of India; and we may be told that his nominations may be made at the caprice of some Minister, or the bidding of some city Croesus. It will be easy, in short, to plant a wound on some undefended or exposed part. Moreover, when a man's abilities have once met with their reward in some other profession, or, though acknowledged by his compeers, have failed to command success, it is easy to say that such a man would have done the State good service in India, and been much more than worth his salary. But unfortunately these things cannot be divined beforehand: and if candidates are to be selected at an early age, as most men agree they ought to be, and the selection is to be entrusted to any body of men, with human prejudices and ties, we had as soon that the patronage should flow from Indian sources into Indian channels, as that it should be entrusted to King or Minister, in the vain hope that hidden corners would be ransacked for merit, and talent be dragged into light.

We now come to Lord Ellenborough's great plan for recruiting the civil administration, in part or entirely, from the Indian army. The idea, we believe, has been taken up by other parties, and propounded in a different shape. It has been proposed to send all Indian nominees to one huge institution, and to distribute them, according to their merit, tested in a series of examinations, amongst the Civil Service, the Engineers, the Artillery, and the Line. In this way, it is said, there would be splendid competition, and the highest talent possible would be secured for the civil administration; for, of course, a principal part of the plan was that the first names in the examination should be told off as civilians, the next as engineers, and so on. The objection to such a plan is obviously this, that one sort of talent is required for the engineers, and another for executive or administrative duties; and while some of the best men in the Civil Service would be puzzled to take a sight or a level, some of the most skilled in the whole corps of engineers might be considerably out of their places, if set at the head of a large district or province. Moreover, the course of study required for each branch of the public service must differ so essentially, that it would be necessary to make the separation at a very early date; and the competition, which should

decide the fate of each candidate, would be limited to one or at most two examinations. This plan, we believe, though discussed at several periods, has never been seriously contemplated: and obviously it differs from that of Lord Ellenborough in merely widening the field of selection, and in simply taking the Civil Service from the best of a large body of young men, while Lord Ellenborough would take the Civil Service mainly from the army. If we understand Lord Ellenborough correctly, we understand him to assert that officers of the army, from their intercourse with the manlier and better kind of natives, their conversancy with the religious feelings and social habits of the soldiery, and their familiarity with the languages, must be singularly well qualified to administer justice in cases of assault or felony, to settle the land revenue, to decide complicated civil suits, and to carry on the minute details of various offices, wherein almost every thing is transacted by pen, paper, and ink. This, at least, is what Lord Ellenborough constantly asserted while in office in India, and by this axiom were many of his important measures guided. Repeatedly, in conversation and writing, in familiar intercourse and at public entertainments, did he maintain that officers of the cavalry, the line and the artillery, must, from the very nature of their duties and positions, be the best men to be placed in collectorates, magistracies and other civil posts. This opinion he has lately reiterated before the Parliamentary Committee. We feel ourselves compelled to differ from Lord Ellenborough, not indeed, as to the efficiency of many military men in civil duties, but as to the reasons given for that efficiency. We do this with some regret, because the late Governor-General is both honest and energetic, and, in many subjects, of great foresight and capacity. He is not one of Carlyle's Shams, and the *solve senescentem* is a warning as yet inapplicable to him. Lord Ellenborough would have us believe that military men make good civilians, *because* they have been in the army. We shall maintain, that if they do make good civilians, it is solely because they are taken out of the army, and put, as it were, into the civil service. Lord Ellenborough connects the good qualities displayed by such men in executive administration, with their original profession. We are bold enough to assert, that these good qualities, in such particular lines, are brought forward only when a man leaves his original profession, and that they are more developed the longer he remains away from his corps. In short, with Lord Ellenborough, a man is an embryo civilian while he is in the army, and with us, he is no civilian until



he gets quit of the army altogether. We trust that no person will, from this, suspect the *Calcutta Review* of an intention to throw discredit on the attainments and qualifications of Indian officers generally. The Indian army, we need hardly say, has been wonderfully productive, not only of those fruits which are the peculiar offspring of the military profession, but of others which would seem to belong to a different soil—not only has it given birth to innumerable instances of endurance in privation, of individual heroism, of consummate strategy, of successful daring, but it has created and sent forth officers who, with unexampled skill and exquisite tact, have conducted difficult diplomatic negotiations to the desired end. It has produced many distinguished orientalisks; it has fostered science, art, antiquarian research; it has explored the remains of Hindu and Mohammedan dynasties: it has left many worthy monuments of Anglo-Saxon benevolence and utilitarian skill. But while we freely acknowledge that, when regularly trained to civil business, many officers of the army have shown themselves excellently qualified to discharge the duties of collectors and commissioners, we fearlessly assert that this excellence is solely due to their having left the army at an early period of their service, and to their having been regularly initiated into all the mysteries of office, from the lowest appointment to the highest. Civil business in India is just as much a trade or profession, requiring a study of the elementary principles, as any other. “There have been heaven-born generals,” says Mr. Campbell pithily, “but never heaven-born collectors.” To become a good magistrate, or an efficient revenue officer, a man, whether he be an officer in uniform or a *pequin*, must commence with the rudiments. He must tread in the acknowledged path and enter regularly at the door; nor can he expect to take a leap over the wall summarily, and find himself at once a proficient in all the revenue and judicial law and practice of the courts. Acting on these principles, whether openly or tacitly acknowledged, many military men have discharged the duties which usually fall to civilians, and which are known by the designation of civil, with marvellous ability and success. A good portion of the appointments in the Punjab are conferred on military officers. One member of the board of Lahore is a military man. Of the seven commissionerships under the Lahore Board, three are filled by officers of the army, and there is a fair proportion of the lower appointments filled by the same class. The administration of Assam, Arracan, and the Tenasserim provinces is, we may say, exclusively conducted by military men. The

Agency on the South West Frontier, and the Saugor and the Nerbudda districts, both have, it is true, a civilian for their chief, but the subordinate posts are almost exclusively filled by officers taken from the army. We will, however, venture to say, that if the members of the Board at Lahore, or others who have opportunities of forming a judgment, were asked to give an opinion, they would all admit that the efficiency of these military officers in civil employ is due entirely to their having early devoted themselves to revenue and judicial business, and to their prompt and regular initiation into the forms and fashions of the trade. If the cry has been raised, that the judicial training of the civilian is deficient, might not the same be said with equal truth of the military officer in civil employ, supposing Lord Ellenborough's plan to be adopted? The latter, in all the non-regulation provinces, constantly performs the functions of a civil judge. But the truth is that, provided he has had a sufficient experience of revenue details, he manages to get through the duties, to which are attached the imposing titles of judicial and civil, with considerable credit. And from this we shall venture to assert, that while the efficiency of military men, as district officers, increases generally in exact ratio with the length of their experience in their particular line, the qualifications of civilians, as civil judges, so far from deteriorating, owing to time spent in the revenue branch, thereby do attain to a higher and better standard. The mischief and folly of transferring men from police to revenue, from revenue to civil business, have been denounced by warning voices a hundred times. But in this very transfer, we can see nothing but great foresight and excellent judgment. The evil, to our thinking, lies partly in the misnomer—"collector of revenue." Men naturally conceive the term to imply duties exclusively connected with the mere collection of the land-tax, the care of a treasury, the disbursement of salaries, and the signing of bills. If the designation really denoted the other duties to which a "collector" devotes his time; if he were styled, what he often is, a *judge of land revenue suits*; if the immense opportunities afforded to him of gaining an insight into one important part of the business of a regular civil court, could be briefly and clearly detailed in his official title; if his functions as presiding in the court of wards and as administrator of the estates of minors, as judge in summary suits, as the divider of inheritances in real property, as registrar of mutations in the titles of estates, and occasionally, as settlement officer, even under a perpetual settlement, could all be stereotyped under one denomination—we should hear

much less of the cry raised against the want of judicial training in our civil judges. Moreover, those who have been loudest in this unfounded outcry, are quite blind to the fact that transfers as violent, and metamorphoses as strange as those unthinkingly decried by them, daily take place in every Queen's court throughout India. How common is the spectacle of a lawyer sitting at *nisi prius*, whose experience was gained at the Chancery Bar, or again, presiding on the Equity side, without ever having drawn a bill in equity, or sitting in the Insolvent, or the Admiralty courts, when his practice had been acquired at the Old Bailey, or at Common Law! It cannot be contended, that the usual training of a lawyer, in these days of divided labour, can readily embrace all these various departments of a science, vast and extensive to a proverb, or that a man, who has regularly eaten his way into the Inner Temple, can, from that fact, or from any practice he may have acquired in any one branch, be fitted to administer the law in all its branches. We are glad to see that Sir Erskine Perry has admitted, in his reply to the Bombay Bar on their address, that of one branch of law he was "profoundly ignorant" on his arrival in India. But the truth is that the profession of the law, and the posts of eminence attainable in that profession, cannot, from their very nature, be made a mark to shoot at, like the vested and exclusive privileges of the Civil Service. No patriot could long gain any credit by following this course. The shafts are consequently aimed invariably at the defective training of the Company's judges. That training may, it is generally admitted, be weak in some points, in the law of bailment, in that of partnership, in mercantile law. But it is ample, if properly used, in all questions of real property, and this, too, from the very reasons on which its sufficiency is denied. One proof of this will perhaps be allowed to have weight. In the Bombay Presidency, the training of civil judges is, in some points, all that the most ardent and disinterested reformer could desire. The line between the revenue and the judicial branches is early drawn, broadly marked, and rigidly kept. The two professions are made quite distinct from each other. Of assistants out of college, some become assistant collectors, and collectors in the usual course. Others become assistant judges, and finally rise to the bench, after eighteen or twenty years' service in the subordinate grade. This, it may be said, is exactly what is wanted on this side of India. But what are the results? Simply these, that the Bombay Government is often too glad to single out a crack-collector, and thrust him on to the Bench, for the very reason that his revenue experience gives him an aptitude for

the decision of civil suits, which the judge, who has never been a collector, who has always remained what it is said he ought to remain, and who has never been what it is said he ought not to be—cannot be expected to possess. We shall leave this fact without further comment.

From this digression, to which we were led on by a discussion on the training of military officers, we return to say a few more words on Lord Ellenborough's plan. There will always be a good demand for the services of able military officers, inured to habits of discipline, and possessed of acknowledged talents. The administrative business cannot spare them, and in time of peace, they are not absolutely required with their corps. But have we not heard a good deal of the danger of drawing all the best men from their regiments, retaining them in civil employ for ten or twelve years, and then sending them in time of war to command men whose faces they have never seen, and of whose very names they are ignorant? Moreover, in spite of urgent demands for military officers, it is impossible to deny that in theory it is not correct to make talent, and the places that must be filled by talent, the direct and grand means of quitting the army? There are obviously many staff situations, exclusively military in their nature, in which the officer filling them, still retains much of his soldierly predilections, is devoted to business entirely bearing on the welfare of the army, where he raises irregular levies, or analyses the proceedings of courts martial, or furnishes supplies. But there are many in which captains and subalterns will not hear mention of regimental or military topics, from one year's end to the other. It is impossible to prevent this entire abstraction of a certain portion of the army from the duties of their profession, and it might be unwise to make the attempt. But, on the other hand, it would be equally inexpedient to enlarge the circle. Yet, if we understand Lord Ellenborough correctly, he would teach young men in the army that their sole object is not to stand by their profession, but to leave it; he would excite in them an unhealthy anxiety to be quit for ever of a soldier's duty and a soldier's ambition; and he would thus proclaim, in clear and distinct language, an axiom which no one, who honours and loves his particular occupation or calling, has ever yet thought it proper boldly to avow.

We shall close this somewhat discursive article, with a few remarks on the nature of the petition presented by the British Indian Association to the Committee sitting on Indian affairs at home. This petition has been variously handled by local and periodical writers, in terms of censure, ridicule, and praise.

Though somewhat late in the day, we propose to point out one or two of the mis-statements with which the petition abounds. We pass over, without much animadversion, several points in the memorial; the characteristic self-sufficiency and obtrusiveness, which attacks the salary and travelling allowances of the Governor-General: the cool request that, out of seventeen of the highest appointments to be created in the state, twelve shall be expressly reserved for natives, who would thus run before they are even able to stand: and the arrogance which would tie the hands of the Governor-General in all cases where they ought to be most unfettered, would deprive the Home Government of the power of dismissing public officers, its own servants, and would, by vesting the legislative power and the power of the purse in the hands of this notable council, really grasp at the substance, and leave the Governor-General only the shadow of power. In all this, and in several other egregious suggestions, either the Association has proceeded on the well-known native principle of over-stating the case, and of asking for much more than is ever expected, or, its suggestions have been dictated by the most child-like simplicity. In the latter case, the public will be able to judge of the wisdom and the ability of the heads of the native community to remodel Government, make laws, and raise taxes; in the former, we can only lament that, after all our boasted civilizing influences, our scholarships, colleges, and our infusion of English ideas, the most wealthy and respectable Zemindars on this side of India should still be found essentially native in character; as much so as the aggrieved ryot, in whose piteous tale five or six men banded together, are described as a gang of one hundred, and a push and a blow are magnified into robbery, wounding and spoliation. Still, this grasping at place, this ignorance of public feeling and public parties at home, displayed in the modest wish, that one-half of the best appointments in India be made over to natives, the desire for enhanced salaries, the dexterous confusion of complaints of mal-administration, of proposals for reform, and of wishes of personal aggrandisement, sink into nothing when we remember that all this combination of puerility and ignorance, and this clumsy attempt at patriotism, are declared to express the feelings of the most intelligent of the native community all over the country! This spectacle of a set of Babús,—who have obtained, in position and influence, ten times more than they would have obtained under any other Government, Hindu, Mohammedan, or European,—pretending to represent the old Hindu and Mussulman families, and the

hard-working agriculturists, village communities, and tenant-proprietors, all over Upper India, is, we think, rather too much of a good thing.

Two statements in the petition require a little notice. The first relates to the duties and liabilities of Zemindars, the second to the cultivation of opium. In the first, the petitioners complain that they are frequently summoned on frivolous prettexts and charges of omission of duty, from the end of a district to the central magistrate's court. In this there is either the most grievous mis-statement, or the most discreditable ignorance. There is not a magistrate, there is not a native official, there is not a landholder, who knows anything of his business, who does not know perfectly well, that in all trivial cases, in all derelictions of duty, the personal attendance of landholders is *never* required. In this respect the highest Company's Court has been lenient to the verge of weakness. The appearance of a landholder in a magistrate's court, except to answer for very serious crimes, is utterly unknown: every Zemindar or Talúkdar has his agent or muktear at every court in the district, who is ready to file an answer to every charge or complaint that may be made against his employer. If a hot-headed magistrate should by any chance require the personal attendance of the great man on a trifling charge, or for neglect of duty in not aiding the police, or for not giving timely notice of extraordinary occurrences, an appeal to the Sessions Judge next door causes an immediate reversal of the order. But the truth is, that owing to long-established precedent, it is universally the practice in all Mofussil courts, not to endeavour to enforce personal attendance on the part of men of character and substance. The introduction then of this topic, as a grievance, into the petition, either proves a desire to mislead readers, or the most culpable apathy. We are unwilling to believe, that the petitioners deliberately lent themselves to a perversion of fact, and are therefore compelled to conclude, that every individual who subscribed his name to the petition, was, in this instance, kept by his agents or servants, in the most shameful ignorance of the real state of things in the Mofussil, or that he was so generally careless as to know nothing whatever of the practice of the courts, the system of zemindary management, and of everything, in short, which he most ought to know.

With regard to the opium monopoly, the petition states, that it is a source of vexation to the cultivators, who are thereby exposed to oppression. This affected regard for the condition

of the agriculturists about Patna and Ghazepore, is a piece of misplaced and spurious philanthropy. The real state of the case is this, and it will effectually dispel all fears on the subject. The ryots, who take advances yearly from the officials of Government, have their accounts squared regularly at the close of every season. There is no intimidation to force men to sign agreements, and there is no accumulation of arrears carried on from one season to another; an equivalent for the advances is returned in the shape of produce; increased weight or purity in the drug is carried to the account of the cultivator; and if there is any balance against him, it is either remitted, or in rare instances, is recovered by civil process. But so little is this expedient resorted to, and so partial are the ryots, from Patna to Ghazepore, to the cultivation of the poppy, that they would be ready to devote much more of their lands to the cultivation of this plant, were it not for the orders of limitation issued by Government. The real *grievance* to landholders is as follows, and hence arise their expressed fears for the welfare of the agricultural community. Landholders are not only forbidden to cultivate themselves, and are excluded from any share in the transactions between the ryots and the deputy or sub-deputy opium agents, but *by law*, they are forbidden to increase the rents of such lands held by their ryots, as are devoted to the cultivation of the poppy. Nothing comes more home to the heart of landholders than the chance of raising the rent of some hard-working individual, who devotes himself to a species of cultivation, requiring a larger disbursement of capital, and a greater amount of skill. It may, therefore, be readily conceived, with what invincible dislike and repugnance a genuine native landholder must look on a system, in which the benefits fall wholly and directly on the ryots: a system in which he is not allowed to have the smallest participation: a system which raises the condition of the peasantry: stimulates them to something of vigilance and industry, procures them advances on which no interest or commission is chargeable, holds out to them the prospect of making a fair profit, and protects them from the intervention of the great man's oppressive retainers and unscrupulous *naibs*, and from the rapacity which seeks to benefit by the care and assiduity of others.

We are unable to follow the British Association any further in its schemes for the regeneration of the administrative system of this empire, and we regret that want of time prevents us from according much space to the petition of the Calcutta

Missionary conference. We shall, therefore, only say that this latter memorial, while it is far more dignified in tone than that of the Bengal British Association, is in several points the far more practical document of the two, and is often eminently fertile in useful suggestions. It refers to topics which it would take a volume to discuss; but in all that it says of the prevalence of dacoity, the disorganisation of the police, and the necessity for a separate Government for Bengal Proper, it will be found worthy of deep and mature reflection. Of the Bombay Petition, it has been well remarked that, while less noisy and better drawn up than the Bengal document, it betrays an equal ignorance of the state of feeling and parties at Home. The petition of the Christian inhabitants has reached us too late for detailed notice. We are therefore unable to discuss its object: to enquire how many of those residents in Calcutta, who may sign it, are persons who can know anything at all of the Mofussil, and how many of the Mofussilites, who may sign by proxy, belong to the class of "Europeans, who are not permitted to do as they like;" or to ask what knowledge each subscriber thereto may have of the laws which he arraigns, and of the general system which he condemns. There is, unquestionably, much to be provided for, in the future renewal of the Charter, for the better government of India; and though we shall not point out the details by which this object is to be secured, we may sum up the crying wants of India, as laid down by the most impartial and least exaggerative writers, somewhat as follows. We want in India provision for an unencumbered, systematic, Executive Government in all the Presidencies, which shall unite two things difficult to be united, a due amount of subordination to one central and supreme power, and a due amount of free play and energy in its various subordinate members: we claim a relief from vexatious interference, while we yield assent to the exercise of a proper supervision; we concede the propriety of keeping the Supreme Council informed of every measure of importance, while we resolutely protest against that delusive and pernicious system, by which cart-loads of statements, and endless references on trivial and minor points, are weekly and monthly reviewed by a quorum sitting a thousand miles off. We demand for the heads of Presidencies, whether they be Governors in Council, or Lieutenant or Deputy-Governors without any such encumbrance, a greater power over the purse, and a more unfettered liberty of action. We call for some yearly adequate provision for increasing the facilities of communication, for regular expenditure in public works, for the promotion of sound, general, education,



and for the conservancy of large towns. We should wish to see something like an union of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, or an arrangement whereby the Directors or Councillors shall no longer be elected by the holders of India Stock, while they shall not become entirely dependent on the ministry in power. We require—now, that the practical education of the juniors in the Civil Service is, in the Bengal division at least, admirably provided for—an uniform and regular training for the higher judicial posts. We protest on behalf of the intelligent and deserving of the Uncovenanted Service, against that unjust policy which will neither increase the personal allowances of laborious and efficient men in the body, nor admit them to certain offices in the administration, to which civilians can have no valid or exclusive claim. We call, next, for a more active police, and greater severity in the punishment of normal crime, and on the other hand, for a cessation of that senseless clamour which blames the Government for not effecting in a century a complete reform in the morals and manners of Hindus and Mussulmen, with as much reason as a censor might blame an eloquent London preacher for not having summarily reformed, by his sermons, the morals of every practised *roué* at the West end; and, lastly, we pray earnestly, that in all deliberations which may have for their object the renewal of the Charter, either in a modified or an integral shape, we may be favoured with a great deliverance from Patriots and from Shams.

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ART. VII.—*Observations on Surgery ; by Benjamin Travers, junior. Lately Resident Assistant Surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital and Lecturer on Surgery. London. 1852.*

HERE, as with the Indian mechanic, we have the son following the trade of his father ; but not much farther does the comparison hold good, for while the poor native artizan toils on, fashioning his work after old models, and operating with the same rude tools used by his ancestors for generations, the modern surgeon, without discarding the lessons of past experience, applies all the new lights and discoveries of science, in the pursuit of what Mr. Travers has truly called it, "our noble art." Noble it is, if an art at all: but we might here come to issue with Mr. Travers, and say that surgery is not an art, but a science. Let us compromise the matter, and say that it is the glorious appliance of mechanical skill and mental intelligence, to the cure of disease and the relief of suffering; art and science working in combination. Somewhat of the old school ourselves, we confess that we respect the motives of Mr. Travers in dedicating his work to his father. There is too little of this paternal reverence in young England.\* To introduce any work on surgery, no name could be fitter than that of the elder Travers;—*Clarum et venerabile nomen*—one of the last of the Romans—a worthy competitor, in the early race to fame, with John Abernethy and Sir Astley Cooper, the author of standard works on surgery. Mr. Travers, too, was for many years one of the surgeons of St. Thomas's hospital, and there it would seem that his son has not thrown away the ample opportunities afforded by a great Metropolitan hospital and school. Noble institutions are these great London hospitals, and suggestive of many thoughts. In respect of the wealth and humanity of their founders, citizens of the world's Metropolis—the great amount of their revenues and expenditure—the sum and the variety of human suffering they exhibit, and the pain and the want which they alleviate, they are unparalleled in the world. And, speaking professionally, let us think of the many great names in surgery which are associated with these institutions. In fact, there are few schools of equal mark for the learning and teaching of surgery; and any lover of the profession may envy, without blame attaching to him, the great privileges of acquiring knowledge enjoyed by those who are immediately attached to these great

\* As the Rev. Dr. Cumming has remarked in one of his lectures, "that beautiful, that musical sound *father* is being banished from England's homes, and that horrible importation from France 'our Governor' is being substituted in its place."

establishments, and the immense field for observing disease and for practising surgery and dissection, in which they labor. As already mentioned, Mr. Travers, junior, seems to us not to have thrown away his high opportunities; and we particularly admire in his work the sound and philosophic application of scientific knowledge to practical purposes. "Above all," he says in his preface, "it has been my endeavour to avoid the language of theory and vague hypothesis, which, to use the words of that ingenious writer, Mr. Samuel Sharp, have never done any considerable service to the practice of surgery; nay, for the most part, have misled young surgeons from the study of the symptoms and cure of diseases, to an idle turn of reasoning, and a certain style in conversation which has very much discredited the art amongst men of sense."

In proceeding to notice the several subjects embraced in the work of Mr. Travers, and in venturing to criticize his doctrines and practice, we are chiefly guided by the light of a long Indian experience; albeit we have endeavoured to keep up our knowledge of what is doing at home. By comparing Mr. Travers's principles of treatment, and the foundations upon which he rests them, with the present state of surgery in India, we may hope to give a local interest to this review of his work, and, at the same time, to recommend it to the profession in India; for it treats of subjects coming daily before them.

**FRACTURES.**—Indian surgeons, particularly those who are attached to Civil stations, see a good many cases of fracture, and for that reason it is of course very desirable that they should be acquainted with the approved principles of treating them successfully. There are two essential objects to hold in view in treating fractures; the first, to retain, as far as possible, the natural movements of the injured parts; the second, and more important, to watch the constitutional effects of the local injury. Mr. Travers has not separately considered the nature of the various forces which produce fracture. His work is limited in size, and we may excuse the omission. These will be, of course, dependent on the habits and occupations of a people, and we imagine, must greatly influence the kinds of fracture met with, and the amount of their danger. A blow from a bamboo stick, or the twist of a limb in machinery, may each, for instance, cause a simple fracture, but the first injury will be simple in all respects compared with the second. But upon the whole, the Indian surgeon has one great disadvantage in the treatment of compound fracture, which is, that such grave cases are often sent in to him from a great distance, while many

of the causes originally producing them, make their character dangerous. We may notice falls from trees, sword-cuts, blows from sticks, &c.

Mr. Travers treats separately of transverse, oblique, comminuted, and, lastly, of compound fractures. He points out, with regard to the first, that they are less dangerous than oblique solutions of continuity, the bone out of its place being less pointed, and so less liable to injure soft parts. Another practical remark which he offers, and which is verified by our own experience in the case of a sepoy at Dinapore with fractured thigh bone, is, that when the broken ends of the bone are much separated from their attachments, there is great difficulty in keeping them in direct apposition.

We are also reminded of the following case, by what Mr. Travers says of the difficulty sometimes experienced in detecting a transverse fracture when it is near a joint. It goes moreover to illustrate the advantage of applying common sense and general principles to individual cases. We were sent for from a distance of thirty miles, to see an old lady who had just met with a severe accident. We said to the gentleman who brought the express, "oh, she has broken the neck of the thigh bone;" our friend's reply was, "there are two medical men already with her, and neither of them can tell the nature of the accident." We could see we were thought a rash man for pronouncing a hasty judgment, nor when we reached, would either say what he thought the injury was. One of them had a high testimonial from Sir Astley Cooper, but was not in the service. Before we saw the case, we thought it very likely that an old lady meeting with a bad fall from off a wall, and having to be carried to her bed after it, had fractured the neck of the femur.

When we did see the case, there was shortening with eversion of the foot, and without much trouble we detected crepitus. The progress of this case was tedious, and a source of great anxiety; but the last fright we got about it was on seeing the old lady dancing a reel!

The varieties of comminuted fractures are clearly and plainly laid down; and the usual process of cure stated to be by the separation and discharge of pieces of bone, with suppuration. We recollect in our own practice, a very interesting case, where though a part of the humerus was minutely comminuted, a cure took place without any separation of bone. A party of sportsmen in the Nepal forest had been firing at deer, hogs, &c.; on coming to the end of their beat, they found a man lying under a tree with a ball through his arm. The poor man was

sent to us for treatment; we could feel the bullet lying on the humerus, which was minutely comminuted. The ball was fixed, and the parts painful and swollen. We applied a large poultice, and, after a free discharge of matter, succeeded in extracting the ball. The wound healed up without a bad symptom, because the periosteum had not been much injured, nor the pieces of the fractured bone been displaced.

Treating of compound fracture, Mr. Travers has well described the various lesions of the soft parts which enhance the danger of these formidable injuries,—incision, laceration, contusion, extravasation;—but we must carry him on to the general principles of treatment he lays down; and see how far they are suited to Indian practice, and how far they tally with our own experience. Mr. Travers, in the treatment of simple fracture, lays great stress upon the necessity of keeping the fracture undisturbed, by having the parts constantly bound up in splints, and by using direct pressure at the seat of fracture. The practice we have found most successful is, in the earliest stages, and until the usually occurring inflammation is subdued, to prevent motion, by fixing the joints above and below the injury, with splints laid along the limb. Above all, the remote extremity of the limb must be kept fixed and in symmetrical position, using cold lotions to the immediate seat of fracture, and as soon as there is no further risk of too high action, applying direct or immediate pressure. Gum or starch splinting, or plaster of Paris casting about the part, we do not think would answer in this country; and common splints padded, or even those made after the native fashion, with slips of flat bamboo joined by strings, answer very well. To fix splints properly, we have found nothing answer so well as a bandage made by spreading mercurial plaster over a common roller. We cannot, from the result of our own experience, agree with Mr. Travers, that any harm occurs from undoing any apparatus applied to a fractured part, if care be taken to prevent motion by propping and by fixing the limb above and below the seat of injury. We have ourselves found great advantage from occasional re-adjustment of the splints, and have never met with a case of non-union.

We first became aware of the little injury done by undoing the dressings of fractured limbs, from having to report upon cases sent in to a Civil station from the interior. It was necessary, in a medico-legal point of view, to ascertain the exact injury, and we found no harm arise from it. The local and constitutional treatment of compound fractures involves points of the highest interest. Well has Mr. Travers observed, that

mere operative surgery is soon acquired, while what he calls medical surgery, or the rest of its practice, is the study of a life. Mechanical dexterity and good nerve are the essentials of the one; keen close observation, resulting from experience and sound common sense and sagacity, are the requisites in the other. And, although it is true of the best practical and consulting surgeon, as of the poet, *nascitur non fit*,—we may, nevertheless, lay down plain and practical rules which may be found generally useful. Also, we may observe, that study and observation are required, as well as natural sagacity, to form a good surgeon.

The first question we have to deal with, in cases of compound fracture, is that of amputation, when the bones are much shattered, or the injury to the soft parts extensive. Are we to remove the injured limb, the first shock from the injury being got over, or are we to hope to save life and limb together? *A priori* we might take for granted that this was the time when a capital operation was most likely to be successful; and Mr. Travers, though he does not say much on the subject, would seem to be an advocate for primary amputation; nevertheless, there are many advocates for secondary amputation, and some of them give figures to prove its greater success. But mere figures require to be taken with caution, and with a full knowledge of all concomitant circumstances; one reason for a high rate of mortality in primary amputation, undoubtedly is, that it is performed after the worst injuries, such as seem hopeless by any other means. It is, perhaps, correct to say, that in Military practice, where the wounded may have to be carried, primary amputation is to be preferred in all cases of serious injury; while in Civil practice, we should be far more reluctant to remove a limb, if there seems to be even a chance of saving it. We have three chances to come and go upon: first, the limb may be finally preserved and become more or less useful; second, we may amputate at what is called the intermediate time, that is, after the inflammation has ended in sloughing or extensive suppuration; and, thirdly, if we find the constitution giving way, we may yet save life by removing the limb. When we do not operate, according to our experience in the treatment of compound fracture, and it has been pretty extensive, the great desiderata are, after setting, and removing sources of irritation, to fix the limb well distad and proximal to the injury, making also some extension above and below, by dressing the wound very lightly, applying cold water dressings, and by keeping down inflammation,—but without depletion, for, we have to meet a long struggle.

We hear much of what natives bear in the shape of injury, how much better they recover from wounds than Europeans do, but this, like most general assertions, requires qualifications. There is less inflammatory action after injuries, but they bear the immediate shock of an injury badly, and they are far more apt to sink under sloughing and extensive discharges or separations of bone. Mr. Travers's remarks on the constitutional effects of fracture are well deserving of perusal; and we cordially agree in what he says of the use of opium, not used, as many use it, as a *dernier ressort*, when the symptoms are all but mortal, but in the earlier stages of all severe compound fractures. It "allays," says he, "the hyper-irritability of a flagging system by procuring sleep, and so inviting further a disposition to take food; and it is effectual in restraining the excess of a draining secretion going on in the part, where the injury is complicated with wound or abscess." We proceed next to

**INJURIES OF THE HEAD.**—The greatest of uninspired writers has drawn thought and philosophy from the supposition of the dust of Cæsar passing through a key-hole.

"Imperious Cæsar dead and turned to clay  
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."

What a subject would it have been for him to handle, that a great mind, yet dwelling in its organic tabernacle, may be quite dead to the external world, nay more, be unconscious alike of inward emotions as of external impressions. We shall suppose—and we hope there is no approach to *lèse majesté* in the supposition, that Mr. D'Israeli, after preparing all his strings of figures for his late Budget, and the cunning speech which introduced them, had, on his way to the House, received a blow on his head that depressed a small portion of the skull. He might have been carried into the house, the pulse and the breathing going on as usual, but all the workings of the intellect would, for the time, be stayed (and in this way men have lived on for months). No abominable *customs*; but, perhaps, a little snoring, not a very uncommon *custom*, we believe, among the selected wisdom of the nation; no *excise*, but the *excision* we shall presently subject him to; no *pressure* from *direct* taxation, save the *direct pressure* taxing his brain; but cut down upon and raise the little bit of depressed bone, and Benjamin is himself again, ready to convince you, that all the taxes he has been railing at for years, as unjust and unnecessary, cannot now be dispensed with! On injuries of the head, Mr. Travers advocates the doctrine that it is good surgery to trepan, if the bone be depressed, although no symptoms of compression be existent. On this point of

practice, the profession would seem yet to be divided. Liston, a great authority on all practical questions, holds the view argued for by Mr. Travers. Mr. Fergusson only recommends the bone being raised or removed, in case of the wound admitting of it. It must be left an open question; for though the use of the trephine be neither difficult nor dangerous, there are numerous recorded cases, where a depressed bit of bone has not been succeeded by any mischief; perhaps to operate is the best course. The next thing that strikes us as new in this part of Mr. Travers's treatise, is his strong advocacy of the use of mercury in certain cases of injury of the head. In cases of blows on, and wounds of, the head, with or without fracture, and where there is neither laceration nor compression, but which are usually attended by symptoms of commotion, irritability of the brain and nervous system persists, and will run to congestion, inflammation and fatal effusion, unless in addition to local depletion, &c., we push mercury to salivation. Injuries of the head being exceedingly common over India, this part of Mr. Travers's work is highly worthy of attention, especially as we observe that mercury is fast going out of fashion; and yet, as Mr. Travers observes, from the use of what other medicine do we see lymph become absorbed in the eye?

There is a third point upon which Mr. Travers appears original in the treatment of head injury, and which we think deserving of notice. The matter may be stated in his own words, and may, besides its direct application, offer a hint to those who have to treat that formidable disease, the heat-apoplexy of the Indian European hospitals.

"With regard to bleeding, abstraction of blood from the arm is, of course, at times indispensable; but often the slow oozing obtained by good leeches, is not only more effective, but by far the safer practice. This more gradual operation of the depleting agent tells with great effect upon cases where the reaction is disposed to be tardy or incomplete. Patients slowly open their eyes and recover consciousness, after trickling leech bleedings, who had been previously bled copiously from the arm without any evident good effect; and if the heart is too rapidly impressed by venesection *pleno rivo*, along with faintness, there supervenes increased congestion and fresh loading of the sinuses. The respiration, under such circumstances, becomes more and more impeded, or a fresh fit of violence comes on—excitement without power. Put by your lancet in such a case, or your patient will die if you persevere. Watch especially the venous circulation, where the



' pulse will bear the pressure of the finger ; order an application of six leeches to one or both temples ; (I have laid them on one by one) ; bathe the wounds so made, with hot water, and now look narrowly to the breathing, the countenance, and the pulse."

OBSERVATIONS UPON PUNCTURE OF THE BLADDER.—Mr. Travers's object is to show, that there are cases of retention of urine, where it is better practice to perform the simple operation of puncturing the bladder than to cut into the perineum for the purpose of passing on a catheter. There is a very interesting and successful case given in illustration. We are able to deal with this question after some experience. We have punctured the bladder above the p<sup>u</sup>bis, and found the operation itself simple and safe. The puncturing of the rectum we have seen done. It is simple when the prostate is not enlarged, but always requires a skilful direction of the instrument. Some years ago, a Bengal surgeon (Mr. Brander we think) proposed to puncture the bladder through the symphysis.

Twice in cases of retention, where we could not pass an instrument, we have cut into the perineum, and succeeded both times in getting a catheter into the bladder. In both cases the hæmorrhage was violent, and, in other respects, we found the operation formidable and difficult. In our humble opinion, Mr. Travers has fully proved his case here, though the occasional preference of puncture, leaving the urethra *in statu quo*, has not been sufficiently, if at all, recognized by Liston, Fergusson and other high authorities. Where the symptoms are immediate and urgent, with the powers of life prostrate, as in the case given by Mr. Travers, it is obvious that our surgical means cannot be too simple. A severe cutting operation cannot be borne, and even forcing a passage with the catheter will, probably, destroy life. We were once called into consultation in a similar case ; we decided to puncture the bladder by the rectum, which was done with great and immediate relief ; but the urethra had already given way in this case, and the patient died from sloughing, although free incisions were made. But Mr. Travers goes farther than this, and gives a letter from another surgeon, Mr. Cock, to prove that the practice may be extended even to old chronic cases of stricture, where the use of the catheter is difficult and painful. Such cases we have met with in our own practice, where the use of the catheter, though unavoidable for the purpose of drawing off the water, was throughout productive of great pain, and the event was death. It now suggests itself, whether puncture would not have been the

better practice. It would assuredly have given less pain, perhaps have averted the fatal issue. In practice, too, we have found, that the advice to leave the catheter in the bladder often cannot be acted upon. It frequently causes great pain and irritation, and at other times it is forced out. We are surprised at Mr. Travers warning surgeons against mistaking ascites for distended bladder. Surely the history of a case and the symptoms would suffice. We once met a case of retention, where, on passing the catheter, no urine escaped. There was evident fluctuation above the pubes. We plunged a trocar in, and an enormous quantity of urine escaped from the peritoneal cavity. This man lived so long, that it suggested to us at the time whether ascites might not be cured by injection. We now see this has been successfully done.

**OTHER DISEASES OF THE URETHRA, STRICTURE, LITHOTOMY AND LITHOTRITY.**—In the matter of stricture we come to immediate issue with Mr. Travers. He says:—"In spasmodic stricture instruments can never be advisable:" we know that their use sometimes deadens that irritability of the mucous membrane, upon which the spasmodic stricture is occasionally dependent, a different condition to the inflammatory and painful spasm, where instruments prove hurtful. Is it true, moreover, as Mr. Travers asserts, that a permanent stricture cannot be cured, only alleviated. If ever cured, they are certainly most apt to return; but if the morbid condition depends upon deposit, why should it not be removable by absorption? If stricture always be what Mr. Travers says it is, a permanent change of tissue, perhaps we must concede the point.

In a late debate in the House of Commons, when Lord John Russel argued, that no changes were necessary in the Government of India, because it is now better than that of Turkey (he might have thrown in France), and when Mr. Herries pointed out, or tried to do so, what has been done for India during the currency of the present Charter, one or both might well have alluded to the spread of medical education in India; and not only education, but the practical results of it, in giving to the people, and that too, now even in the interior of districts, the benefit of the medical knowledge and the surgical skill acquired by their countrymen.\* Changed, indeed, is the state of things since the early days of our Indian experience, when the

\* The present reviewer may well feel pride in thinking, that ere the Medical College had existence, he was among the first, if not indeed the very first, to advocate the extension of the benefits of medical skill to the people of India. On none of its acts can the British Government of India look with greater pride and gratification than on what in this respect it has done.

common dictates of humanity forced us to have a small dispensary of our own, and it was necessary to have a lithotomy staff and forceps made up by a common blacksmith! There are now dispensaries all over the country, supplied liberally with instruments and medicines. The results are highly honorable to Indian surgery, and, especially so, we believe, in the matter of lithotomy. Our readers will feel surprise when they learn that in the lately elected Bengali professor in the Calcutta College, Ramnarain Doss, there is the same individual, who, at Budaon, in the course of less than four years, performed two hundred operations for stone in the bladder. We are unable to state the exact results, but we know the success was great; and we can say, from having seen it, that the Babu is a very dexterous operator: nor is this a solitary instance. In many of the dispensaries, this and other important surgical operations are now being constantly performed by the European superintendents and sub-assistant surgeons. The statistics of Indian lithotomy must altogether be highly satisfactory; one reason for which we believe to be, that all the instruments are simple, and the gorget, blunt or cutting, is never used, as far as our knowledge goes. There is nothing new or requiring remark in what Mr. Travers has said on lithotomy. We too, have seen the operation done where no stone was found.

**LITHOTRITY.**—Mr. Travers does not say much in favour of stone crushing. To judge from our own limited experience in the matter, we are induced to think that it is no practical boon to humanity. It may be safely done by careful and dexterous manipulation, but the pain of frequent sittings and crushings, or drillings, must be fearful—an entire permanent cure always doubtful. In a few cases, where the urethra is wide, and the same patient happens to be nervous and timid, it may be advisable. Many years ago we tried Lestrangé's instrument in the case of a seemingly healthy middle aged man. The mere passing of the instrument, for we did not succeed in seizing the stone, brought on very violent inflammation of the urethra. There was another man at the time in our little hospital, just recovering from the cutting operation; our present patient said "why don't you treat me in the same way?" We took him at his word, and he made a brilliant recovery. Later in the day we came nearer the actual performance of lithotritry, in a dispensary of which we had temporary charge; there was a young man with stone, who had a very wide urethra; a friend,—we wish we might name one so promising, indeed so distinguished already in the profession,—fixed the stone in

Lestrangle's instrument, but there was bleeding, and the scale gave so large a stone, that after some deliberation, it was resolved to perform the lateral operation. Well that it was so, we ourselves operated quickly, and in every respect successfully; but the man very nearly died, and we are quite sure that if we had tried to crush the stone, the result would have been fatal.

There are other subjects treated of by Mr. Travers, and they are well handled; but we must be content with just glancing at a few points suggested by the perusal of this part of his work; we mean the two concluding chapters, which treat of local inflammations and diseases of the joints. With reference to erysipelas, we are not aware that an attempt has ever been made to explain why, as an idiopathic disease, it is all but unknown in India; very rarely too is it seen to attack stumps or other wounds made in surgery, but we have seen that form of it in cases of even trifling wounds, where the cellular substance under the skin becomes infiltrated, and unless free incisions be made, will suppurate or even slough, the skin above being also destroyed. Mr. Travers advises that the incisions should not be too deep, for fear of too much bleeding. Carbuncle is a serious disease, and we do not seem to know yet why the destruction of so small a portion of a comparatively useless part of our organization should destroy life.

The two last kings of Lucknow have died of this disease,—symbolic of the state of the kingdom which they have left to be so shamefully misgoverned by its present ruler. There is plenty rotten material to be got rid of. Mr. Travers tells us, that in the physical carbuncle it is not well to cut too deep. In the moral one of Oude, we are persuaded that the boldest measures are required.

We offer as an interesting subject for discussion, the prevalence of boils in India in some seasons more than others, and the nature, causes and treatment of the Scinde and Hansi boils, which are so obstinate, and so evidently connected, in some way, with malarious deterioration of the blood.

On the diseases of joints, the Indian reader may, perhaps, feel surprise to find Mr. Travers an advocate for the use of mercury, and stating that it is especially well borne by the scrophulous; but for this and all his opinions, Mr. Travers offers us sound and deliberate reasoning, as well as cases in point. Certainly, we have ourselves never seen the repairing process go on in the human body so rapidly as under the use of mercury. The removal of deformity and loss of

movement by the fræna and contractions in burns, is the last subject to notice. Mr. Travers has lately seen wonderful cures by ingenious mechanical extension in preference to the old practice of excision. We cannot see why a quicker cure might not be effected by combining the two methods, as we have ourselves done,—excision first and then extension.

Having thus concluded our remarks upon Mr. Travers's valuable and practical treatise, we cannot but feel that their natural place would be in the pages of a Medical Journal—but where is it? This Presidency is full of professional talent, and the field for observing disease is absolutely without limit—all varieties of climate—Civil and Military hospitals without number—yet no place to record results, save the shelves of the Medical Board Office, where the white ants feed on them. Is it true that medicine is with us passing from a profession to a trade? Or is the cause of our Literary apathy to be found in the fact, that even the members of a scientific body now only reap reward for the performance of military services? These services in the field, be it observed, are seldom voluntary. With him who engages in the difficult campaigns of professional study, the case is different. But if there be no reward, there is a victory; for as one of the greatest of conquerors said, the greatest of all victories, and those which leave no regret, are those which we obtain over ignorance.

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ART. VIII.—*Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to enquire into the operation of the Act III. and IV. William 4, chapter 85, for the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories, and to report their observations thereon to the House; and to whom were referred the petitions of G. J. Gordon, respecting education in India, and of C. H. Cameron, respecting the establishment of universities in India; and to whom were also referred several papers and documents relative to the subject-matter of the enquiry; together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix and Index thereto. Ordered to be printed on the 29th of June, 1852.*

THE Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons not having reached India, at this time of writing, we need hardly say, that the volume now before us, is the most important that has come within the scope of our criticism, since the first establishment of this *Review*. We have read it with the strongest feelings of interest, and not without some emotions of pride. When some nine years ago we, who now write, drew up the prefatory “advertisement” contained in the first number of the *Review*, we said: “We desire to apply this work ‘to the purposes of a vast commission, in the records of which ‘will be found a greater mass of information—of information, which at such an epoch as this, it is desirable, above all ‘things, widely to disseminate among Englishmen—than in any ‘single work extant.” And now, in looking back upon what we have done, and comparing the result of our labors, not only with the performances, but the promises of the Committee of the House of Lords (and, doubtless, we shall, in due course, be enabled to express a like measure of self-congratulation with reference to the Report of the other House), we cannot but perceive that we have played the part of Commissioners with good effect, and have left no important subject of enquiry uninvestigated in these pages.

The Committee of the House of Lords, in this initial Report, state, that they have resolved to divide the important subject referred to them under the following heads:—

1st. The authorities and agencies for administering the Government of India at Home and in India, respectively.

2nd. The income and expenditure of the British Indian empire, showing the produce of the territorial revenues, and of all other sources of income, and the modes of assessing and levying each, in the respective Presidencies and districts; also the progress of trade and navigation in India.

*3rd.* The military and naval establishments of India—character, extent, and cost.

*4th.* The judicial establishments of British India, European and native; the modes of administering justice, civil and criminal, and the working of the system, as exhibited by tables of trials, appeals, and decisions.

*5th.* The measures adopted, and the institutions established and endowed for the promotion of education in India.

*6th.* Works of local improvement executed, in progress, and now under consideration.

*7th.* Ecclesiastical provision for the diffusion of Christian spiritual instruction.

*8th.* Miscellaneous topics of enquiry.

We do not think that we have failed to make repeated investigations into any one of the topics here specifically enumerated; and it will be admitted that, in the “miscellaneous” department, we have pushed our enquiries without stint. We may add, too, that in many cases the opinions expressed, if the names of the respective writers had been appended to them, would have carried scarcely less weight than those openly and authoritatively enunciated by the able and distinguished men examined in the Committee Rooms of the two houses.

But, although we hope that, in such a juncture as this—at the threshold of our examination of the great parliamentary enquiry into the present condition of India—this brief self-gratulating retrospect may be deemed natural and excusable, we do not intend that it should detain us any longer at the gate. We would transport ourselves at once, from the little room on the banks of the Hooghly, in which the idea of this Journal first took shape and consistency, to the spacious chamber on the banks of the Thames, in which certain members of the House of Peers assembled last spring, for the purpose of examining certain gentlemen supposed to be experienced in Indian affairs. And in doing so, with the reader for our companion, we would first direct his attention to the classification of subjects given above; and remind him, that it is only in relation to the first head of enquiry that the Committee profess to have examined the witnesses summoned before them. It is only in the nature of such investigations—investigations, in the course of which any member of a numerous Committee is competent to put any question to a witness—that more or less discursiveness should obtain. The latter half of the examination, for instance, of Sir George Clerk, in the present volume, interesting and important though it be, is, in relation to the subject immediately under consideration, a specimen of

discursiveness easily to be accounted for by the natural desire of one of the members of the Committee, to make out that the annexation of Scinde has not been the grievous failure which it is generally supposed to be. But with due allowance for these almost inevitable deviations, the first Report of the House of Lords exhibits little more than an enquiry into "the authorities and agencies for administering the Government of India, at home, and in India respectively."\*

The Committee seems to have assembled on fourteen different days, ranging between the 3rd of May and the 26th of June inclusive. The witnesses examined were Mr. J. C. Melvill, Secretary to the East India Company; Sir Herbert Maddock, late Member of the Supreme Council, and Deputy Governor of Bengal; Mr. Wilberforce Bird, ditto ditto; Mr. Frederick Millett, late Member of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Supreme Council of India; Sir George Russel Clerk, late Governor of Bombay; Mr C. H. Cameron, late Member of the Indian Law Commission, and Legislative Member of the Supreme Council; Mr. T. C. Robertson, late Lieutenant-Governor of the N. W. Provinces; Mr. L. R. Reid, late Member of Council at Bombay; Mr. J. M. Macleod, late Member of the Indian Law Commission; Mr. R. K. Pringle, late of the Bombay Secretariat; Mr. J. S. Mill, Assistant Examiner in the India House (Political Department,) and Mr. D. Hill, in the Judicial Department of the same office.

Looking at it as a whole, the evidence is extremely creditable both to the India House Officials, and the retired Civilians, whose names we have above transcribed. Indeed, the amount of intelligence here exhibited is, in itself, no insignificant testimony to the efficiency, if not of the administrative system, at least of the administrative body; and we should be wanting in candour, if we were to refuse to admit, that the latter, in this, as in all similar cases, is a close reflexion of the former. No system, inherently vicious, could have produced such a growth of able Administrators as have graced the Company's service. Nor, if the system had been vicious, and all this intelligence and integrity had been developed in spite of it, would such men have been among the most earnest of its upholders.

We do not propose to examine *seriatim*, the evidence of the different witnesses contained in this Report; but rather to select one or two especial topics for illustration, and to cite such passages as immediately bear upon them. We must remark,

\* It would seem, however, that the idea of this methodical investigation did not occur to the Committee at starting, for, on the first day they addressed themselves wholly to the subject of finance.



however, *in limine*, that it is pleasant to find that we start from the same common point as the witnesses now before us, and are working towards the same end. When Mr. Melvill, the very able Chief-secretary of the Company, says, “I think the great object of any constituent body for the election of Directors is to provide as good an instrument as possible for the Government of India, and for the promotion of the happiness of the people of that country,” we feel at once that we understand each other, and that though we may differ on some minor points, there is little chance of our falling out by the way. Mr. Mill, too, is equally clear upon this point. Indeed, he is one of the last men living to put forward any thing but the *maxima felicitas* of the people of India, as the great end of our Government of the country. He admits, that it is in the very nature of things that our Government should fall short of this great end; but he thinks that we have attained an approximation to it, which could not be reached under any other system.

“It is next to impossible,” he says, “to form in one country an organ of Government for another, which shall have a strong interest in good government; but if that cannot be done, the next best thing is to form a body with the least possible interest in bad government; and, I conceive, that the present governing bodies in this country, for the affairs of India, have as little sinister interest of any kind as any Government in the world.”

In this we readily concur; but when Mr. Mill proceeds to state more in detail what he conceives to be the chief causes of our success, we cannot quite endorse all his premises.

“The present constitution of the Government of India,” he says, “has been very much the growth of accident, and has worked well in consequence of things which were not foreseen, and were not in the contemplation of those who established it; in a great measure, from causes not provided for in the received theories of Government. So much of the good working of the present Government, being the result of accident,—accident would, probably, have a great share in determining the operation of any new system which might be substituted for it; but it would be necessary to keep in view, in any alteration, the circumstances, so far as they can be assigned, which have been the causes of the beneficial working hitherto. Among the first of those seems to me to be, that those who are sent to administer the affairs of India, are not sent to any particular appointment; they go out merely as candidates; they go out when young, and go through the

' necessary preparation in subordinate functions, before they  
' can arrive at the higher ones. That seems to me the first es-  
' sential requisite for the good Government of India. A  
' second great advantage of the present system is, that those  
' who are sent out as candidates to rise by degrees to the  
' higher offices, are generally unconnected with the influential  
' classes in this country, and out of range of parliamentary  
' influence. The consequence is, that those who have the dis-  
' posal of offices in India, have little or no motive to put unfit  
' persons into important situations, or to permit unjustifi-  
' cable acts to be done by them. Any change in the Government  
' of India, which would bring the appointments of the Indian  
' officers into the ordinary channels of political or party influ-  
' ence would, I think, take away one of the chief causes of  
' whatever is beneficial in the present working of the Govern-  
' ment of India."

We think that the assertion here put forth, to the effect that those who come out to hold office in this country, are unconnected with the influential classes at home, must be taken with some qualification. For, although, doubtless, the appointments do not pass through "the ordinary channels of political or party influence," there is sufficient connexion between the recipients of India House Patronage, and influential parties, both here and at home, to have a sensible effect, directly or indirectly, upon the distribution of Indian patronage. Indeed, another witness (Mr. Reid) gives, as the results of his own experience, testimony to a very different effect:—

" 2733. Are not, to a certain extent, the Civil Servants  
' very much composed of friends and connexions and clients of  
' the Governors at home?

" To a certain extent they are.

" 2734. Therefore, to a certain extent, the Government are  
' personally interested in the advancement of those persons?

" Yes, and sometimes, perhaps, in defending them, when  
' they ought not to be defended.

" 2735. Is there not a dead weight of incompetency in the  
' Civil Service?

" There is a dead weight of incompetency, but one that  
' could easily be got rid of, by means of which advantage  
' might be taken to a much greater extent than is the case at  
' present. Every Civilian, who has served twenty-five years,  
' is entitled to a pension of £1,000 a year; if a servant so  
' entitled, be not fully competent for his work, I think the Go-  
' vernment ought to require him to take his pension and retire."

This relates to the Bombay Presidency, and, doubtless, the

personal connexion existing between the Company's servants and the Governors, is greater in the minor Presidencies than at the seat of the Supreme Government; but even the Governor General of India has often connexions in the services, and, at all events, may be wrought upon by the aristocratical influences of friends at home. A considerable number of those who come out to India in the services, are sufficiently connected with the influential classes at home, to be able to find some link of connexion between themselves and our Local Governors. When found, it may be of no use to them. That depends upon circumstances. But that there are in this country, as in every other, men who owe their professional advancement mainly to their influential friends, is not to be denied. Still the independence of the Governors is infinitely greater than it could ever be under a system, which rendered the diffusion of the initial patronage a matter of political contingency. If the appointments were previously bestowed by the ministry of the day, it would be difficult to conceive the extent to which the evil, glanced at in Mr. Reid's evidence, would extend. The present system has reduced the evil pretty nearly to a *minimum*; under *any* system it must exist. It is only under Utopian Governments that "interest" is a dead letter.

But we have so fully, in a former paper, examined the whole question of India House patronage, that almost everything on this subject, which the *Blue Book* before us suggests, and much of the information it contains, has already been anticipated. The subjects to which we propose, chiefly, to confine ourselves in the present article are, *firstly*, the machinery and powers of the Home Government, especially with regard to the relations subsisting between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control; *secondly*, the employment of natives in the Indian Administration; and, *thirdly*, the character of the local press, and the asserted antagonism between it and the Government of the country. Other important topics of enquiry will come before us, when the Commons' Report reaches us, and they shall meet with due consideration.

Entering upon the subject of the Home Government, and the connexion existing between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, we cannot do better than preface our enquiries with the following comprehensive extract from the evidence of Sir Herbert Maddock—for it not only explains the existing system, but glances at some of its defects:—

"2179. Are you aware of any defects in its working, that you wish to state to the Committee?"

" From what I have been able to understand of the system,  
 ' and the working of the Home Government of India, nominally  
 ' under the Directors of the East India Company, but virtually  
 ' subject, in all respects, to the control of the India Board, it  
 ' has appeared to me, that the system might be usefully modi-  
 ' fied, so as to simplify the transaction of business, without  
 ' prejudice to the authority of the Board of Control, or injuri-  
 ' ously diminishing its responsibility. As the Government is  
 ' at present constituted, all the business in all departments con-  
 ' nected with the civil and military administration of India, is  
 ' supposed to be conducted by the Directors of the East India  
 ' Company; and all matters of a political nature are supposed  
 ' to be managed by a Select Committee of the Court of Direc-  
 ' tors: but in reality, the Court of Directors are unable to issue  
 ' any order of their own, which has not the previous sanction  
 ' and confirmation of the President of the Board of Control;  
 ' and they are under an obligation to issue any orders, whether  
 ' according to their own judgment, or contrary to their own  
 ' judgment, which may be dictated to them by the Board of  
 ' Control; and, though the correspondence with Indian Govern-  
 ' ments on subjects of a political nature, and touching peace  
 ' and war, is all carried on in the name of the Secret Com-  
 ' mittee, the members of that Committee are, in fact, only the  
 ' organs of that member of the cabinet, who is held responsible  
 ' to parliament for the administration of India. It has only  
 ' lately, I believe, been popularly understood, that such is the  
 ' real state of the powers apparently exercised by the Court of  
 ' Directors and their Secret Committee; and it has struck me,  
 ' that if any important alteration is made in the present footing  
 ' which exists between the authorities of the Board of Control  
 ' and the Court of Directors, the political correspondence with  
 ' India might, as well, be carried on directly in the name of the  
 ' President of the Board of Control, either through or not  
 ' through the Secret Committee. And I think that with  
 ' regard to all the ordinary business of the administration of  
 ' India, more might be left to the discretion of the Court of  
 ' Directors, independently of the control of the Board of Con-  
 ' trol. Supposing them to be precluded, as at present, from  
 ' deciding on any question of importance, or introducing any  
 ' new principle or organic changes of system without previous  
 ' reference to the Board of Control, and that all their proceed-  
 ' ings are constantly open to the supervision of the Board,  
 ' and, if necessary, that abstracts of all their proceedings are  
 ' periodically submitted to the Board, there can be no ad-  
 ' vantage, that I can perceive, in attempting further to

‘ control the Court’s authority over the Civil Administration of India.

“2180. Is there not this advantage in the present system, on the supposition, that the persons forming the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, are really acquainted with the affairs of India, that in the event of the President of the Board of Control directing them to send a letter in a certain sense to India, if they differ from his views, they have an opportunity of remonstrating and stating why that letter should not be issued; whereas, if there were no Secret Committee, it would be necessary for the Board of Control to send them the intended letter, and there would be no opportunity of obtaining a second opinion with respect to the propriety of issuing it?

“I did not propose to abolish the Secret Committee or its intervention; and as to a limitation of the interference of the Board of Control, I alluded only to matters of detail in the administration, in which I thought it would be unnecessary that the Board of Control should ordinarily exercise any interference.

“2181. Would there not be great difficulty in drawing a line of demarcation between those matters that were important, and those that were not?

“I should think not; and I have been informed that, in fact, there have been instances where the President of the Board of Control has, of his own authority, exempted the Court of Directors from submitting some branches of their business and some of their orders to him for confirmation.

“2182. Supposing the persons in the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, at the time when the letter was issued through them to India, approving of the intentions of Lord Auckland to prosecute the war in Afghanistan, had entertained objections to the intended operation, and had stated those objections, is it not possible that the statement of those objections might have tended very much to alter the views entertained by the Board of Control?

“Certainly; but the alterations which I have ventured to suggest do not go the length of supposing that the President of the Board of Control would not have the assistance of the advice of the members of the Secret Committee of the Directors.

“2183. In what way do you propose that he should advise with them, if not by sending to them the letters which he proposes to transmit to India?

“It appears to me, that virtually the members of the Secret

‘ Committee become the colleagues and co-adjutors of the President of the Board of Control, in carrying out his views, and in advising him upon the subject.

“2184. Does not the origination of measures rest with the Court of Directors?

‘ By law it would appear, that every act, political and administrative, in India, proceeds from the Court of Directors. Every thing is done in the name of the Court of Directors; treaties are made, and war is declared in the name of the Court of Directors, and the Court of Directors are as ignorant of the transactions as any private individual can be. What I meant to hint was, that the present form of the Government of India, by the Court of Directors, is a fiction, and I wished simply to suggest the possibility of getting rid of that fiction, and substituting some form which is more consistent with the fact.

“2185. Is it a pure fiction at present; practically, does not the opinion of the members of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors exercise considerable influence over the despatches upon diplomatic and political matters in India?

‘ They are the authors of them; we only know that the despatches are signed by them, but I alluded rather to the Court of Directors. I wished to point out the fiction, that every thing in India is done in the name of the Court of Directors. The Court of Directors are held responsible in public opinion for every act of the Government proceeding from the Home authorities; whereas, in all questions, important and unimportant, of a political nature, the Court of Directors are actually ignorant of the correspondence on the subject, and have nothing whatever to say to the Government of India in that respect.”

We pause here, desiring to make a few observations on the weighty matters touched on in these passages of Sir Herbert Maddock's evidence. If we understand Sir Herbert aright, the drift of the above remarks is to show that the power of the Court of Directors, in respect of ordinary matters of internal administration, should be increased, but that in regard to our external relations, to matters connected with “peace or war,” in short to all political (*anglice*, diplomatic) affairs, the authority of the Board of Controul should be more open and direct—more absolute it can hardly be. The whole subject of India House administration is embraced in these important considerations. Let us take the two questions in order—dwelling, first, upon the *general* business of the Court of

Directors; and, then, upon that which belongs to the *Secret Committee* of the said Court.

It is essential to a right understanding of the matter, that both the law and the practice of this double system of Government should be clearly stated. And we do not know that we could do this in any better way than by citing the following passage from the very lucid evidence of Mr. Melvill:—

“187. What is the law with respect to despatches to India?

“The Court of Directors having transmitted to the Board of Commissioners a draft of the proposed despatch to India, the Board of Commissioners are required, within two months, to return it, either approved or altered; and if altered, to state their reasons at large for the alteration.

“188. Each alteration?

“For each alteration. The Court of Directors then take in to consideration those alterations, and as I have before stated, fourteen days is allowed to them to remonstrate, if they think fit, against the alterations. The Board of Commissioners, after receiving the remonstrance, give the final orders; and the Court of Directors are then required to despatch the letter to India. In the event of the Court of Directors, in the opinion of the Board, neglecting any subject, or the Board seeing occasion to treat any subject connected with India, which the Court of Directors have not brought before them, the Board may write to the Court, and call their attention to the circumstance, and desire them to prepare a despatch. If the Court of Directors fail to prepare such a despatch within fourteen days, then the Board of Commissioners may themselves write a despatch and send it to the Court to be transmitted to India. This is the only case in which the Board of Commissioners have the initiative with respect to despatches to India.

“189. Having stated what the law is, will you now state what is the practice?

“The practice is for the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, in the first instance, to prepare a draft of a despatch, and to send it in what is called ‘previous communication’ to the President of the Board; and the President of the Board, in due time, returns that previous communication, with his observations upon it. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman then either adopt the alterations wholly or partially, or reject them; and in the state in which they finally approve the draft, it is submitted to the Committee to which it belongs. The Committee alter it, if they think fit, and send it to the Court of Directors; the Court of Directors then consider it,

‘ and after they have approved it, it goes to the Board officially; and then the Board deal with it in the manner which I have explained.”

“ In the manner explained ”—that is, the Board of Control return the draft so prepared by the Court of Directors, either approved or altered, before the expiration of two months from the date of its receipt.

The Board of Control may alter the Court's despatches to any extent—their alterations may extend to the introduction of new matter, entirely at variance with the sentiments of the Court. There is no limit to the Board's power of revision. The Court initiate every measure connected with the domestic administration of the country. But the Board may cancel what they like in the Court's despatches, and introduce any fresh paragraphs of their own. The despatch, in point of fact, may be returned to the Court, like the school-boy's knife, with a new blade and a new handle, or like the Scotchman's gun, with a new stock, a new lock, and a new barrel, without a passage of the original document remaining, or a glimpse of its original spirit to be caught.

But it may be said that, although legally this may happen, practically it is never the case. But practically it is sometimes the case. We mean that the Court's draft-despatches, on matters of purely civil administration, have been returned to the Court so altered—so many passages erased, and so many new ones inserted—as to convey altogether a distinct meaning from that contained in the original—a reversal, indeed, of the declared sentiments of the Court.

It might be supposed, for example, that on matters affecting the governance of their own servants, the Company might be allowed to carry out their own views, and to express their own opinions, without the interference of the Board of Control. But even here the Board have stepped in, and so revised the draft-despatches of the Court, as to make them convey sentiments the very reverse of those entertained by the Directors themselves. It is known, that on the subject of Lord William Bentinck's measures for the supervision and control of the Civil Service, as set forth in his minute of the 15th of January, 1834, the Court of Directors were at variance with the Local Government; and, subsequently, (in 1836) directed the discontinuance of the system introduced by the late Governor-General. The draft-despatch ordering this discontinuance was, in due form, forwarded to the Board of Control, and the Board adopted the suggestion. But whilst concurring in opinion with the Court, that the measures adopted by Lord



William Bentinck were ill-suited to the object in view, and therefore advising their discontinuance, the Board made such free use of the emendatory power, that when the despatch was returned to the Court, it was found to contain certain general reflections on the character and conduct of the Civil Service, utterly at variance with the sentiments of the Directors, and extremely distasteful to them; whilst almost everything that the Court had written in favor of the existing system had been carefully erased. The Court of Directors thus stood committed to a vague general condemnation of their own servants, which they believed to be essentially unjust. They had, at all events, experience on their side. They knew the character of the Civil Service far better than the Board of Control could possibly know it; and they were far more likely to be right. Yet, although the despatch was to bear the names of the Directors, and was to contain reflections, in their names, on the character of their own servants, they were compelled to pass a resolution adopting the despatch, to sign it, and to forward it to India. They had the power of recording a remonstrance; and *did* record it. But, however consolatory this may have been to their feelings at the time, such protests are mere moonshine, and have no practical effects.

But we have not stated the whole case. In the draft-despatch, of which we are speaking, the Board of Control introduced a specific plan for the supervision, by the Revenue Commissioners, of "the whole of the Judicial Department." The scheme was altogether preposterous and impracticable, and had its origin only in an entire ignorance of the working of the judicial system of the country. But the Court had no alternative but to adopt the suggestion, to sign the despatch, and to leave the project to take its chance of falling to the ground under the pressure of its own impossibility.

But a still more striking instance of the Board's interference in details of domestic administration, elicited a strong remonstrance from the Court, a little later in the same year. Many of our readers remember the proceedings in Purneah, in connection with the case of Mr. Charles Reid. Charges were brought against certain members of the Civil Service, and were transmitted, through the regular channel, to the authorities at Home. The Board of Control took up the case, not only with much earnestness, but much acrimony, and resolved on the condemnation and punishment of the accused civilians. A despatch was accordingly sent up to the Court for signature, full of detailed assertions and imputations, unsupported either by proof or by fair inference, and urging the punishment of three

members of the Civil Service, upon charges from which they had never had an opportunity of exculpating themselves. The civilians in question may, or may not, have deserved punishment; but the Court had no information before them sufficient to justify even condemnation; and, accordingly, a powerfully worded remonstrance was recorded against the arbitrary proceedings of the Board. But although the Court has power to remonstrate, it has no power to prevent the despatch of letters containing matter of which its members utterly disapprove. All that the Directors can do, in such cases, is to protest and submit.

We have cited these particular instances, because they relate entirely to those detailed matters of civil administration, questions affecting the character and conduct of the members of the Service, either as a class or as individuals, of which the Directors may be supposed to be especially cognizant, and with which any interference on the part of the Board is especially uncalled-for, vexatious and injurious. In these cases, it appears to us, that the Board exceeded the powers intended by the Legislature, if they did not (as is, by no means, clear) actually exceed the powers prescribed by the letter of the law. For they either originated the despatches, or introduced into them such new matter as in effect constituted an original despatch, and, in the former of the two instances, struck out a large quantity of important matter from the Court's draft, without assigning any reasons for the alterations; although it appears from Mr. Melvill's evidence, that the Commissioners are bound to afford a reason for every alteration they make. It is clearly not the intent of the Legislative enactment defining the powers of the Board of Control, that they should originate instructions to the Local Governments, on matters of internal administration, in opposition to the wishes and opinions of the Court of Directors. The act allows the Court of Directors a fortnight to come to a decision on the emendations of the Board of Control. But the Board of Control are allowed two months to decide upon the suggestions of the Court of Directors. The inference is that the emanations of the Court are supposed to be original propositions, calling for matured consideration, whilst those of the Board are no more than slight amendments upon the Court's propositions, demanding no deliberate consultations—no protracted enquiries into their merits. It is very certain, at all events, that if the Board are to originate instructions, on matters of domestic administration, a fortnight is not sufficient time for the Court to bestow upon them their final consideration. It was not, it appears to us, the intention of the Legislature, that the Board should be as absolute in the domestic Government

of India as they are in matters of foreign policy. It would be desirable, therefore, in the new act, to define more clearly the extent to which the interference of the Board in the general internal government of India may be carried. It is our own deliberate conviction, that their powers should be greatly restricted. On all subjects of internal administration, the Court of Directors, consisting as it does, for the most part, of very able members of the Indian executive, are infinitely more competent to form correct opinions and mature just decisions, than the Board of Control, no one working member of which has probably any Indian experience at all. There may,—as in the case of Mr. John Elliot, an old Bengal civilian, who was one of the Joint Secretaries under the Russel administration,—be exceptions to this rule: but in the Court of Directors there are a dozen retired civilians, so even the exceptional case does not carry much weight.

On political questions, however—questions of “peace and war” (we now come to the second point of enquiry)—there may be better grounds for the interference of the Board of Control. Here the Court of Directors, as a body, have no power. The chairman, the deputy-chairman, and the senior member of the Court constitute the Secret Committee, and father the despatches which are originated by the Board of Control. The members of the Secret Committee, or rather the chairman, may sometimes offer suggestions, and doubtless opinions are in this way quietly insinuated: but beyond such insinuations the power of the Leadenhall Street body does not extend. The Secret Committee is, in effect, only a mask. Behind it the Ministry of the day go masquerading as conquerors and spoliators; and, without any compunction, pick John Company’s pocket. They treat John Company, indeed, very much as *Autolycus* treats the *Clown* in the *Winter’s Tale*:—they get him to help them out of the mire, when they are embroiled in difficulties, and take advantage of the assistance he is rendering them, quietly to pick his pockets:—

*Autolycus.* O, help me, help me... .. I am robbed, sir, and beaten; my money and apparel ta’en from me, and these detestable things put upon me.....

*Clown*..... Lend me thy hand, I’ll help thee—come, lend me thy hand (*helping him up.*)

*Autolycus.* O! good sir; tenderly—oh!

*Clown.* Alas, poor soul!

*Autolycus.* O, good sir—softly, good sir: I fear, sir, my shoulder blade is out.

*Clown.* How, now; can’t stand?

*Autolycus.* Softly, dear sir (*picks his pocket.*) Good sir, softly—you ha’ done me a charitable office.

Now, we put it to any one who has any knowledge of the manner in which the Afghan war was made and *paid for*, whether the conduct of the Queen's Government, in this case, is not very exactly represented by that of the rogue in the play. They pretended to get into some foolish scrape in Persia. They were robbed and beaten, or otherwise ill-treated, they said, in the person of a messenger, somewhere in the Persian dominions. They quarrelled with Persia, found themselves in a difficulty, and called upon the Company to help them. The Company lent a helping hand. Behind the mask of the Secret Committee, the Foreign Secretary and the President of the Board of Control then made war upon Afghanistan, to help them through their Persian difficulties; and whilst John Company was thus lifting them out of the mire, they deliberately picked his pocket. Sir John Hobhouse publicly declared that the Afghan war was made by himself, and yet the East India Company have been compelled to pay all the expenses. The Company have never foregone their claim upon the Home Government for a portion of these expenses; and we believe that they keep up a fiction of periodically requesting payment. A certain amount, due from the Home Government on account of the Afghan war, is entered among the assets of the Company. But it is known to be a bad debt, quite as irrecoverable as many of the sums due to the unfortunate Union Bank.

Sir Herbert Maddock says, that the Secret Committee is itself a mere fiction. And so in one sense it is. But in another, it is any thing but a fiction, for a fiction does not pay millions of money. The Secret Committee is the Court of Directors, or not the Court of Directors, just as the Crown Ministers choose to make it. The despatches are signed by three members of the Court, and are dated from the India House. Still the existence of the Leadenhall Street element is ignored when the ministerial body desire to claim credit for anything that has been done by the Secret Committee. There is a curious instance of this afforded in a "note" appended to the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, which has reached this country. The reviewer, in an article on Kaye's *War in Afghanistan*, contained in the previous number, had claimed credit for the Court of Directors, on the score of certain letters of 1840-41, quoted in the work, suggesting the expediency of abandoning the ruinous occupation of Afghanistan. These remarks seem to have excited the anger of a certain "statesman," whom we may fairly assume to be Lord Broughton, a "statesman" who, as Sir John Hobhouse, was President of the Board of Control, when these letters were written;

and the editor of the *Review* was accordingly “honored” (think of the *Quarterly Review* being “honored” by the receipt of a letter from that John Cam Hobhouse, whom it had aforetime tarred-and-feathered so remorselessly!) setting forth, that as the said letters emanated from the Secret Committee, and were therefore originated by the Board of Control, it was incorrect to speak of them as the work of the Court of Directors. The members of the Secret Committee have nothing to do but sign the despatches. Although their names are appended to them, they must not claim credit for any good that is done under their name. They are only permitted to suffer. Suffering is the badge of their tribe. Their names are used and their purses are used. But beyond this, they have no material existence. The Court of Directors only make “war or peace,” when the expenses are to be paid. Then they are a reality—a substantial reality. At all other times they are a mere fiction—*nominis umbra*: the shadow of a name.

Whether history has, or has not, any right to treat of despatches dated from the India House, and signed by three members of the Court of Directors (including the two chairs or representatives of the Court) as the despatches of the Court of Directors, we shall not now pause to enquire. But we think it time that an effort should be made to render this form of double Government something more than a mere sham. It is not enough, in our opinion, that the names of certain members of the Court should be used, for no other practical purpose than to commit the Company to a legal participation in measures, of which perhaps they may not approve, and so compel them to pay the expenses. If the design be merely to fix upon the Company certain pecuniary responsibilities, let the fraud cease at once, and the real nature of such transactions be clearly revealed. Let it be known that the Queen’s Ministers make war in India, and compel the Company—or rather the people of India—to pay for them. We would make the power of the Court in the war department a reality, because we know, that if it were so, there would be less chance of India being entangled in costly and disastrous wars beyond the frontier. But if this cannot be done—if ministerial jealousy determine to keep all the real diplomatic power in the hands of the Crown officers—we agree with Sir Herbert Maddock in thinking, that it would be better that things should be called by their right names, and the exploits of the Board of Control be openly blazoned as such. There would be something then to control the Board of Control;—*self-control*, when a Hobhouse is at its head, not being one of its virtues. It would, at all events, if things were done in its own name, be responsible

to public opinion, which it is not, whilst it goes masquerading about in the guise of a "Secret Committee of the Court of Directors." We do not mean, in any view of the case, that despatches emanating from the Board of Control should be sent out to India without the cognizance of the Secret Committee, but that, if they are really the despatches of the Board, they should be dated from Canon Row, and should bear the President's name. The power of issuing orders, absolutely and uncontrolled, in other men's names, appears to us to be a very dangerous power; but apart from this, we hold it to be extremely desirable that the people of England and India should know how the latter country is governed. They have been mystified and deluded enough already by masks and disguises. We would make the power of the Directors in the Secret Committee a real operative power; but if we cannot do that, the next best change would be to call things by their right names. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, we cannot advocate the perpetuation of shams.\*

The general tendency of the evidence, already given before the Lords' Committee, is in favour of an extension of the powers of the Court of Directors. It has been seen, that the Directors have no political (diplomatic) powers, and that their administrative powers are liable to be restricted, even in matters relating to the internal management of their own services. To limit their power still further, or even to leave them as they are, and at the same time to deprive them of the power which they now enjoy, and have exercised, of recalling an obnoxious Governor, would be to reduce them to a mere

\* Whilst this paper is ready for the Press, the Commons' Blue Book has reached us, and in it we find a passage—it is part of Lord Hardinge's clear and sensible evidence—so illustrative of this part of our subject, that we cannot forbear from quoting it:—

"2384.—*Chairman.* Is your Lordship prepared to give any answer to the latter part of my question, which was, whether you would recommend any change in the relation which exists between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors?"

"I do not know that I would propose any change, but at present it is a mystery not understood by the public, why the Board of Control should give an order to the Secret Committee. I believe, it is not quite clear, whether the Secret Committee can, or cannot, resist any such order, but I think it might be made more clear, so as to prevent any collision for the future. I recollect an instance, in which an officer of very high position and ability in India, had written a letter to the President of the Board of Control, in which he had, in somewhat indignant terms, complained of the Secret Committee: the letter which had come out to him being signed by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman: this officer felt amazed, and wrote his letter to the President of the Board of Control. When I heard of it, I wrote to him: 'I hope you have not sent the letter, for, though the order was signed by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, it in fact came from the President of the Board of Control,' with whom this officer was on friendly terms. This officer did not understand the mystery of the President of the Board of Control being in fact the Secret Committee; it is, however, a convenient arrangement."

It is doubtless, "very convenient" to the President of the Board of Control to write letters under other people's names,—and to use their cheque-book at discretion.

name. And why a governing body, consisting mainly of able and experienced men, thoroughly acquainted with all the matters brought under their review, should be reduced to this state of nullity, it is not very easy to determine. That an attempt would be made to prove, that the power vested in the Court of Directors, of recalling a Governor-General, is a dangerous weapon in their hands, and that it is necessary to good government that the Company should no longer exercise such a prerogative, was something more than conjectured. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that some of the witnesses before the Lords' Committee were questioned closely on this head—nor are we surprised to find that the balance of evidence is in favor of the continuance—in the hands of the Directors—of the right of recall.

Sir George Clerk was very explicit on the subject. There was no beating about the bush. He went direct to the point:—

“1771. If the nomination and appointment of the Governor-General necessarily requires that he should possess the confidence both of the Court of Directors and that of the Crown, is it your opinion that each separately should have the power of recall?”

“I think that there should be the power of recall—whether separately or not, is another question. I take it for granted, that the power of recall rests with the Crown itself; and with regard to the Court of Directors, I should think, if that body is to exist, it ought, in order to render it efficient, to have also the power of recalling the Governor-General.

“1772. Ought the Court of Directors to have that power separately or jointly with the consent of the Crown?”

“I think the Court of Directors ought itself to have that power; because, in looking at the Government of India, the Court of Directors is the only body well known there, and to them is ascribed the merit of any good measures for the administration of India; and on the other hand, it is the authority which is blamed for everything which is considered unsuitable to the institutions or the Government of India.”

The evidence of Mr. Reid is equally direct:—

“2642. The Court of Directors has the power of recalling all its servants from India, from the highest to the lowest?”

“Yes.”

“2643. Including not only the Governors of Bombay and Madras, but the Governor-General of India?”

“I believe so.

“2644. Have you considered the question, whether you

' would think it important, that in any renewal of the Charter Act, the Court of Directors should retain that power ?

" I have considered it, and I think that the power ought to be retained ; I think it is very necessary to uphold the powers of the Court of Directors, who really possess very little power."

Mr. Reid took up his ground firmly and resolutely, but an attempt was made to drive him from it. Mark how the cross-examination proceeded, and what was its result :—

" 2645. You are aware that the political affairs are carried on between the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control ?

" Yes.

" 2646. So that the Court of Directors have not necessarily any knowledge of them ?

" No.

" 2647. Therefore, the Governor-General might be recalled by the Court of Directors upon certain grounds, of which they had no official knowledge ; that is to say, they might recall the Governor-General upon an opinion with respect to some thing which had been done, as to which they had really no official knowledge ?

" I am not aware how that could occur, because the Court of Directors could not act, unless under complete knowledge of the facts. I cannot conceive that they would act solely on the representation of the Secret Committee.

" 2648. The Court of Directors see that the Governor-General has performed some act which is displeasing to them, but cannot tell whether that act has been done of his own accord or under instructions from the Government in England ?

" In such case I do not think the Court of Directors would ever exercise the power to recall ; they certainly ought not to exercise it, unless they had all the means before them of forming a proper judgment on the subject.

" 2649. Inasmuch as everything that passes with the Secret Committee may not be communicated to them, may not a great deal have passed of which they know nothing ?

" If, while anything important was uncommunicated and unknown to the Court, they exercised the power, then the only opinion could be that the Court acted wrongly.

" 2650. Supposing the Queen's Government in England, and the Governor-General through the Secret Committee, to take a certain political line of conduct, which is not approved by the Court of Directors generally, do you think it expedient that the Court should have the power, independently and



‘ against the will of the Queen’s Government, to recall the Governor-General?

“ I think upon principle, I would say not ; that is, in cases where the measure in dispute is known only to the Secret Committee and not to the Court of Directors.

“ 2651. But supposing there was a collision of opinion between the Queen’s Government and the Court of Directors?

“ In that case the collision being with the Court of Directors, and not merely with the Secret Committee of that Court, the case would be different.

“ 2652. Supposing the information to be complete upon both sides, and that upon a deliberate review of the subject to which the information related, the Court of Directors had one opinion and the Queen’s Ministry had another opinion, do you think it proper or not, that in such a case, the Directors should have the power in question?

“ I think that in some way the Court ought to have a concurrent authority ; and that supposing the information to be perfect on all points, such authority ought to rest with the Court of Directors, as it does with Her Majesty’s Government.

“ 2653. You think they should have a concurrent power of recall, but not a sole and absolute one?

“ I mean that either party, independently of the other, should have the power of recall, either the Crown or the Court of Directors ; both of them have the power at present.

“ 2654. You recommend the continuance of the power?

“ I should recommend the continuance of the power as it is at present.

“ 2655. You do not mean that the concurrence of the Crown should be necessary, to the exercise of the power of recall by the Court of Directors?

“ No ; I mean that either party should have that authority, independent of the other.

“ 2656. You mean that, as the concurrence of both is necessary to the appointment, so the concurrence of both should be necessary to the continuance?

“ Certainly.

“ 2657. That the concurrence of both should be necessary to the continuance of that authority which required the concurrence of both for its original creation?

“ Precisely.

So all this questioning only brought Mr. Reid to the *certainly, precisely*, with which he concluded his answers on the subject.

Mr. Mill gave his evidence to the same effect:—

“ 3045. Do you think it is as important, for the maintenance of their (the Court's) authority, that they should have the power of recall ?

“ I think it is proper and necessary.

“ 3046. Are there not circumstances under which the nomination of the Governor-General will fall to the Crown ?

“ If the Court of Directors make no appointment within two months.

“ 3047. Would it be desirable to place modifications of the same nature upon the power of recall, that is to say, by requiring certain notice of the intention of the Court to exercise the power ?

“ I see no particular advantage in that ; because, it is not to be supposed that the Directors would seriously contemplate a recall, unless they intended to persevere in it ; it is not probable, that they would raise the question, unless their opinion was thoroughly made up.”

Nothing can be more obvious than this. The recall of a Governor-General is so extreme a measure, that there is no likelihood whatever of the privilege being exercised, except upon the strongest grounds, and after the maturest deliberation.

There is every reason in the world, why the Court should exercise such a privilege in the most cautious and forbearing manner. Ever since the power has been in their hands, they have only brought it into action on one occasion. Only one Governor-General has been recalled by the Court of Directors throughout this long series of years. It is true that one interrogator, whom it is not difficult to identify, endeavoured to make it appear that the Court wished to recall Lord Wellesley, but though the fact may be established, the inference to be drawn from it is precisely the reverse of that which was intended to be deduced.

“ 3050. Are you under the impression that the Court of Directors never wished to recall Lord Wellesley ?

“ I am under the impression that they did wish, but not so strongly as to take a measure which they knew would be extremely disagreeable to the Government of the time.

“ 3051. It must rather be a strong Government that of Mr. Pitt, at that time, was it not ?

“ It was.”

The drift of this is very obvious—but we are not sure that the interrogator did not defeat his own purpose. At all events, the inference is that the Court of Directors do not always exercise the power, when they “ wish” to do it—in other words,

that they sometimes sacrifice private feelings to public considerations. They may have wished to recall Lord Wellesley, for he was insolent and insubordinate—and his proceedings embarrassed the King's Government almost as much as they annoyed the Court of Directors; but they knew that he was a great man; it seemed probable that his abrupt removal from office would be injurious to the public interests both in India and in England; and they were induced, therefore, to stifle their animosity, and to abstain from exercising the power in their hands. But the case of Lord Ellenborough was different in some of these essential features. He was insolent and insubordinate; but the Court did not conceive him to be a great man, and by no means believed that his recall would jeopardize public interests at Home or abroad. Hence it appears, on a review of these two cases, that the Company are discriminating and forbearing—that they are by no means likely to sacrifice the public interests to any feelings of offended personal dignity, but on the other hand will submit to what is extremely distasteful to them, if they believe that an opposite course will, in any way, be prejudicial to the public welfare. Indeed, it would be impossible to advance anything in favor of the retention, by the Court of Directors, of the power of recall, more cogent than the very significant fact that they recalled Lord Ellenborough and did not recall Lord Wellesley.

The evidence of Sir Herbert Maddock, on this subject, is of a more qualified and conditional character; in the House of Commons, being more closely questioned, he declared more distinctly against the right of recall, but the following is the substance of his evidence before the Lords' Committee:—

“ 2207. You are aware that the Governor-General is nominated by the Court of Directors, subject to the approval of the Government, and that he can be recalled by the Directors alone, without the approval of the Government?

“ Yes.

“ 2208. After stating, as you have done, that the Government of India is virtually subject to the Board of Control, and not to the Court of Directors, do you consider that that power of the Court of Directors is advantageous or otherwise?

“ I have expressed generally a decided opinion, that it is an inconsistent and anomalous position of affairs, that the Court of Directors, though they are not empowered by law to exercise any other independent functions of Government, and are in every other respect, excepting their patronage, subject to the control of an officer of the Crown, should possess the

‘ power of recalling a Governor-General contrary to the will of the Crown.”

The anomaly may exist, but its existence appears to us an argument rather for the extension of the power of the Court in other directions than for its curtailment in this. It will hardly be contended that, on the whole, the Court has too much power. The fact is, that it has too little. If, then, the power of recall is inconsistent with the general impotence of the Court, it would be well to remove the anomaly by extending their general power. The unsightly excrescence should be removed by building up to it, not by knocking it down.

The evidence of Mr. Bird was cautiously given. It abounds in conditions and reservations, and the real meaning of the witness is not very apparent through the mist. The only thing that is very clear is, that Mr. Bird, speaking from experience, pronounced the sudden recall of a Governor-General to be very inconvenient and embarrassing to the public servant, on whom the temporary charge of the Government devolves:—

“2285. You are aware that it is in the power of the Directors of the East India Company to recall the Governor-General without asking the permission of the Government; will you have the goodness to state whether you think that the power is consistent with the general relations between the Home Government and the Court of Directors and the Government of India; and also, whether, in your opinion, it is a power which it is advantageous the Court of Directors should retain?”

“I think it very undesirable that, on a question of so much delicacy and importance as that of the recall of the Governor-General of India, there should be any public disagreement between the Home authorities, which may lead to set the one in open opposition to the other; such a collision of opinion would necessarily lead to one of a corresponding description throughout the community of India; and if it is supposed that the recall is likely to be followed by any sweeping change of policy on the part of the general Government, it might be attended with very serious consequences. I think, also, that it places the functionary, on whom it devolves to take temporary charge of the office of Governor-General, in a very painful and embarrassing situation, as, however anxious he may be to discharge his duty, it is next to impossible that he should be able to give entire satisfaction to both parties. I think, therefore, to prevent such a collision, it will be very desirable that all discussions between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control on that

‘ subject should be conducted in secret, and the Court’s decision  
 ‘ be carried out, if the law remains as at present, with the con-  
 ‘ currence of both authorities, or else that the law should be  
 ‘ altered; anything in the shape of a struggle between the  
 ‘ authorities, whether at Home or abroad, must, in such a coun-  
 ‘ try as India, be attended with serious inconvenience.

“2286. By weakening the Government?

“Yes.

“2287. You can hardly speak of public disagreement, for  
 ‘ nothing of the struggle is known till the event takes place?

“It was very well known in India; I am speaking of what  
 ‘ actually took place. I think, that as every thing else of  
 ‘ importance, such as the determination of war and peace, &c.,  
 ‘ &c., is conducted in secret, between the Board of Control and  
 ‘ the Court of Directors, it would be desirable, as long as the  
 ‘ law continues as it is, that the consultations should be held  
 ‘ in the Secret Department, and the result appear with the  
 ‘ concurrence of both authorities; and the one should not  
 ‘ openly act in opposition to the other.

“2288. Is it your decided opinion that it would be better  
 ‘ to withdraw from the Court of Directors the power of recall-  
 ‘ ing the Governor-General?

“I have not seen the discussion which led to that power  
 ‘ being reserved. I have lately understood that there were  
 ‘ discussions on the subject, and that it was seriously deli-  
 ‘ berated upon at the period of the last Charter. Not having  
 ‘ seen those discussions, I cannot, without further considera-  
 ‘ tion, give an opinion absolutely one way or the other; but  
 ‘ I think the present state of things is injurious. It is desira-  
 ‘ ble that whatever decision the Court may finally come to,  
 ‘ it should not appear, as far as the public are concerned, that  
 ‘ the Board of Control is opposed to it; and if that cannot  
 ‘ be done, I should say that the law had better be altered.

“2289. You speak of two authorities, but is it not the fact  
 ‘ that there would only be one authority if that power were  
 ‘ withdrawn from the Court of Directors?

“If it were withdrawn, there would be only one. The Board of  
 ‘ Control is paramount, I believe, on almost all other subjects.  
 ‘ India is placed in trust on the part of Her Majesty to be  
 ‘ governed by the Court of Directors, but in point of fact the  
 ‘ whole of the Government is ruled and controlled by the  
 ‘ Board of Control, with this solitary exception.

“2290. Do you consider that the intention originally was  
 ‘ to give concurrent authority to the Board of Control and to  
 ‘ the Court of Directors, and that if you were to deprive the

Court of Directors of the power of recall, it would be, practically taking away that power out of their hands, and placing the unwieldy and sole Government of India in the hands of the Board of Control?

"I have not seen the discussion which took place upon the subject, and I cannot tell what led the Government of the day to acquiesce in that provision. I should like to be allowed to see that discussion first. Without seeing it, I am not competent to give an opinion; but I do not think the question should remain as it is. I think the publicity, which was given to the disagreement between the Board and the Court, very injurious in India. India is not like England; it is very desirable it should appear that we are united among ourselves."

The inconvenience of such collisions, as those to which Mr. Bird refers, may be admitted. But we do not very clearly see, that to avoid such collisions, in future, it would be expedient to place all the power in the hands of the Department that is least likely to be right. When the Court of Directors, in opposition to the Queen's Government, recall a Governor-General, there is the strongest possible presumption that they have proceeded wholly upon public grounds; but, when the Board of Control oppose the recall of a Governor-General, there is at least a very strong probability that they think as much of their party as of the public. It is a heavy blow to the Ministry to be discredited in the person of one of their nominees, perhaps a leading man of their party—and they are little likely, under such circumstances, to come to a decision resting wholly upon public considerations. Their party must be upheld—they must stand by their order. If there be nothing else to be said in favor of the retention of the power of recall in the hands of the Directors, there is quite enough in the very obvious suggestion that it acts in some measure as a check upon the intrusion of party into the administration of our Indian affairs. To place the authority wholly in the hands of the Board of Control would be to substitute accident for principle—to make the good Government of India more dependent than ever upon a faction-fight or a bed-chamber-intrigue.

But let us hear further what Mr. Bird says upon the subject—especially with reference to Lord Ellenborough's strong point, the evils attending the anticipation of the recall of a Governor-General. We may fairly presume that his Lordship is the interrogator, because the questions suggest what he stated more directly in his own evidence before the House of Commons:—

"2298. May not an expectation generally diffused, through

‘ India, that a Governor-General will be recalled, in consequence of the known hostility of the Court to him and his measures, produce a much more injurious effect in weakening the Government, than the actual recall of the Governor-General when it takes place ?

“ I am not able to answer that question, because I only know of one instance which was followed by a recall. What would have been the effect which is supposed in the question if the recall had not followed, I cannot say.

“ 2299. Have you any recollection of a report, received from Gwalior, of the intention of the Gwalior Government, not to accede to the terms proposed by the Government of India, in consequence of an expectation from public rumour that the Governor-General would be recalled ?

“ I have no recollection of hearing that report, but I do not think it at all unlikely that such was the case. It may have been prevalent at Gwalior, without having reached Calcutta.

“ 2300. Have you any doubt that a Governor-General, weakened and discredited by the expectation of his recall on the part of the public, would be utterly insufficient to carry on the Government of India ?

“ I am not prepared to say that he would be utterly insufficient to carry on the Government of India ; but it would certainly be very embarrassing, and attended with great inconvenience.”

“ 2301. Might it not practically create very great embarrassment in the Council itself, if it were understood that the Court of Directors, having the power of recalling the Governor-General, were disposed to exercise that power : might it not lead to opposition to his measures in the Council itself, and to very great difficulty in carrying on the Government ?

“ No doubt it might, if it was supposed that the Governor-General was likely to be recalled ; it might deprive him of support, and thereby weaken his authority.

“ 2302. What would be your opinion of the effect of a change in the law, which should exclusively vest the power of recall of the Governor-General in the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors acting jointly ?

“ I am not prepared to answer that question.

So it comes at last to this, that Mr. Bird is not prepared to say what would be the effect of a change in the existing law, —as regards, however, this matter of the *anticipated* recall of the Governor-General, it would hardly seem that the evils here suggested would be removed by the withdrawal of the power

of recall from the hands of the Directors. If it were necessary that the Board of Control and the Court of Directors should act jointly in this matter, there would still arise differences of opinion; and the collision between the two authorities, though it might not break out into open action, would, probably, be well known amongst us. The result of the conflict would then, in our minds, be dependant upon the permanence of the Home administration. The expectation of the dissolution of a Cabinet would have the same effect, under such circumstances, as the expectation of the direct recall of the Governor-General; and India would be governed by party instead of principle.

As regards the particular case alluded to in this passage of Mr. Bird's evidence, and more directly in the evidences of Lord Ellenborough himself, before the Committee of the House of Commons, as his Lordship said most distinctly that he had information from the Court of Gwalior, to the effect that the expectation of his recall led to the resistance of the Government of that place to the reasonable demands he had made upon them, we are bound to believe that the fact was so. But it would have been more satisfactory to those who are acquainted with the state of parties at Scindiah's capital at that time, if they had been informed upon which party, and in what manner, the expectation of Lord Ellenborough's recall had this effect. It was the impression amongst us, not that the Government of Gwalior had resisted the reasonable demands of the Governor-General, but that the mutinous soldiery, too strong for the control of the durbar, had marched out to give us battle, in the hope of preserving themselves from the threatened extinction of their influence; and certainly Lord Ellenborough's subsequent proceedings at Gwalior (distinguished, as they were, by a moderation which we greatly commended at the time), were not calculated to fix an impression on the mind that he had been contending against the resistance of the Government. The illustration, therefore, needs to be rendered somewhat more clear and explicit. We may add, too, that as far as our own reminiscences go, the recall of Lord Ellenborough took us in Calcutta somewhat by surprise. If it was anticipated at Gwalior, it was not anticipated within the Mahratta Ditch. Indeed, if we are not mistaken, Lord Ellenborough had told us, or pretty plainly hinted, only a little time before, that he had beaten down all opposition.

To the evidence already referred to in this article, on the subject of the recall of the Governor-General, might be added



that of Mr. Millett and Mr. Willoughby, two of the ablest men who have ever gone out to India, before the Committee of the House of Commons. Both gentlemen were very distinct in their declarations, that it would be inexpedient still further to restrict the power of the Court of Directors, by removing from them the right of recall. And, indeed, we are at a loss to conceive why any one, not desiring to reduce the Court of Directors to a mere conclave of appointment-givers, should desire still further to mutilate the very limited authority which the Legislature has left in their hands. There is little, indeed, except this power of recall, to stand between India and the great curse of party. If we do not desire to hand over India bodily to the tender mercies of Whig or Tory faction, we must unite to uphold the authority of the Court of Directors. It is obvious, that if the Governor-General and Board of Control between them may set the Company at defiance, the sooner the Company cease to exist, the better. The Court of Directors is composed of members of a variety of shades of opinion, almost all being men of Indian experience and Indian repute. It is not known, in the case of the greater number of them, beyond the limits of the India House, hardly indeed within it, to what section of the political circle they belong. They are a permanently established body, not goes-out and comes-in, to be overthrown by any gust of circumstance, by the unexpected coming on of a debated question; by a fashionable assemblage of irresistible temptation; or by the laches of a bungling whipper-in. Their measures, therefore, are distinguished by something like consistency: the same leading principles seem to permeate all the opinions they express. It is hard to say into what folly, or what wickedness, the curse of party might not have driven the Ministers of the day, but for the intervention of the Court of Directors. If it can be shown, that when the Court of Directors and the Board of Control have been at variance, the former have been uniformly, or even generally in the wrong, it may be desirable to limit the powers of the Company. But history tells us altogether another story. Tried by such a standard as this, the Crown Ministers would cut but a sorry figure. An appeal to reason, and an appeal to fact, would be equally in favor of the Company.

We may now leave this important subject, and turn to other matters of leading interest. The question of the extent to which native agency may be advantageously employed in the administration of the Indian Government, seems to have been carefully considered; and a considerable mass of evidence

relating to it, is to be found in the volume before us. Foremost is that of Mr. T. C. Melvill, who was the first witness examined in both Houses:—

“ 563. Are you aware of any instance in which a native has been appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company ?

“ No such appointment has ever been made.

“ 564. Do you think there would be any objection to a native receiving that high appointment ?

“ Yes, I think there would ; and if the Committee will allow me, I will take this opportunity of explaining the grounds of my objection, and showing the distinction which now exists between the European and native servants of the Government. England must be regarded as holding India for the benefit of the people of that country, and our first and chief duty is to provide them a good Government ; all our systems of administration should be framed with a view to the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of the natives of India ; if the natives were competent, from their moral qualities, and from education, to fill offices under the Government, their exclusion would be a practical wrong ; first, because the natives of a country have the first claim, when qualified, to share in the administration of its affairs ; and secondly, because native agency must always be more economical to the state than foreign agency. I have already stated to the Committee, that up to a comparatively late period, it was considered unsafe to employ the natives in any offices of trust, owing to a serious defect of moral character. The removal, in part at least, of that prejudice, combined with the impossibility of providing a sufficient amount of European agency, led to the arrangements commenced in 1827, and since largely extended, for committing magisterial and judicial functions to natives ; and now, as I have before said, the principle in progress, throughout the civil administration of India, is *native agency and European supervision and control* ; this principle is maintained by the distinction between the covenanted and the uncovenanted services ; and the time has clearly not yet arrived for breaking down this partition, which would be the immediate effect of putting natives into the covenanted service ; the salutary deference now paid to Europeans would thereby be weakened, if not annihilated. In the case of the Army, the principle which I have mentioned is maintained in the distinct classification of European and native officers ; the admission of natives as cadets would destroy the distinction, and, ultimately, involve

‘ the placing of regiments under the command of natives—a result for which we are certainly not yet prepared ; the question seems to me to be one only of time ; any attempt unduly to accelerate it, might be prejudicial to the natives themselves, and injurious to the Government. The encouragement now given to the employment of natives in situations of trust, affords, I think, ample evidence, that there is no disposition to exclusiveness, further than what is necessary for the public good.

“ 565. Will you state what is the distinction with respect to moral character, which, in your opinion, fits the natives at this moment for the discharge of duties of a judicial character, and at the same time renders them unfit for the duties of covenanted servants of the Company ?

“ I think that the natives, however employed, still require the check of vigilant European superintendence ; a man may discharge public duties well, when he knows that he is subject to efficient control ; but the period has not arrived for committing the whole Government of India to the natives, which might be the result of throwing open to them the covenanted service.

“ 566. Is the office of a judge more subject to European superintendence and inspection than the office of a Civil Servant of the Company ?

“ Yes ; it is the Europeans, members of the covenanted Civil Service, who superintend the natives.”

“ 567. Are not the sudder amíns always superintended by Europeans ?

“ They are generally so superintended.

“ 568. Although you do not think the natives are now so qualified, you still think that the time may come when they will be qualified to act, without any detriment to the interests of British India, as covenanted servants of the Company in any grade ?

“ I do ; I think the question is only one of time.”

We are of opinion that the question is here very fairly stated. It is simply a question of time. The position assumed by the East India Company is this. The services are open to all qualified candidates for employment ; but the natives of India are not yet qualified for employment in the covenanted branches of the service. When the provisions of the last Charter Act threw the services open to the natives of India, the Court of Directors, writing out to the Supreme Government, with their suggestions relative to the general interpretation of the new Act, dwelt at some length on this especial Clause (87), by which it is

provided, that no person, by reason of his birth, creed, or colour, shall be disqualified from holding any office. Touching upon this subject, the Court, in December, 1834, expressed an eager desire that the spirit and intention of the Legislature should be transfused through the whole system of administration; and they interpreted the general scope and tendency of the clause into a declaration, that thenceforth there should be no governing caste in British India—that whatever other tests of qualification might be adopted, distinctions of race and religion should not be of the number, that no subject of the British Crown, whether of Indian, or British, or mixed descent, should be excluded either from the posts usually conferred on their uncovenanted servants in India, or from the covenanted service itself, provided that he were otherwise eligible, due regard being had to the rules and conditions observed and exacted in both cases.

After thus clearly enunciating, what they conceived to be the proper construction of the general intent of the 87th Clause, the Court proceeded to speak of the more particular application of the principle laid down. It would chiefly, they said, fall to the share of the Local Governments to apply it to natives of whole or mixed blood; that as regarded the former, they continued, the provisions of the Legislature had, to a considerable extent, been anticipated. That it had been previously the wish of the Court to employ natives in situations of trust, as freely and extensively as a regard for the due discharge of their functions permitted, and that many important offices had been conferred on them, partly, doubtless, from considerations of economy, but partly also on the principles of a liberal and comprehensive policy—still, they said, as a line of demarcation had been practically maintained, certain offices had been appropriated to the natives, from certain others they had been debarred, not because these latter belonged to the covenanted service, and the former did not, but professedly, upon the ground that the average amount of native qualification could be presumed only to rise to a certain limit. This line of demarcation the new Charter Act proposed to remove, or rather to substitute another for it, wholly irrespective of the distinction of races. Thenceforth fitness was to be the only criterion of eligibility.\*

To this altered rule the Local Governments were instructed

\* Or to render this somewhat more clear. Under the old Act, it was presumed, that natives of India could not qualify themselves for office in the covenanted branches of the service, and upon this presumption they were legally excluded; but under the new Act, this presumption was ignored, and there was no legal exclusion. It was presumed that they might qualify themselves, and when qualified, they were to be admitted within the precincts of the covenanted service.

to conform, both in their acts and their language. It was assumed, that practically no great change would take effect for some time. But the Court, fully recognizing the importance of enabling the people of India to meet successfully their European competitors, emphatically insisted upon the liberal policy of promoting every design for the improvement of the natives, whether by conferring on them the advantages of education, or by diffusing among them the treasures of science, knowledge, and moral culture. In short, their interpretation of the new legislative enactment was simply this. Henceforth there is to be no governing caste. Fitness for office is to be the only test of eligibility. The natives of India are not yet qualified to hold the highest offices under Government. It is our duty, therefore, to do our best to qualify them to compete successfully with Europeans, by promoting education and diffusing knowledge among them.

Mr. Melvill's evidence seems to embody this view of the question. It is "merely a question of time." In 1834, the Court of Directors were of opinion, that the natives of India were not qualified to hold the highest offices in the State, but that it behoved the Government to render them so, with the least possible delay. Unquestionably, since that period, education has been promoted, and knowledge has been diffused; and the natives of India have been, and are, increasingly participant in the loaves and fishes of the Executive Government. But it is not yet admitted that the natives of India have been raised to such a standard of qualification as to enable them to compete successfully with Europeans, for the higher appointments now held exclusively by the latter.

The opinions of all the most experienced men, who have given their attention to this subject, are opposed to the belief, that the covenanted services may yet be practically opened to the natives of India, with advantage to the State. The admission must be gradual. Every year their claims are more and more acknowledged, and they have a larger share in the general administration of the country. The progress in this respect, has, we think, been sufficiently rapid, and we could hardly counsel any larger reformatory strides than those which have been made in the right direction, during the last quarter of a century. Mr. Mill truthfully observed that there is a growing desire to admit the natives to all offices for which they are considered sufficiently qualified: but before passing on to this gentleman's evidence, we must give another passage from Mr. Melvill's, which seems to meet the point very fairly:—

"615. If the objections which you have suggested to the

Committee are adopted, how are they ever to be departed from at any future time, and if at all, under what circumstances?

"When the natives generally shall have greatly advanced in civilization and intelligence, and their moral qualities shall have improved, all which could not fail to be the case, if it should ever happily occur that Christianity were universally diffused throughout India.

"616. But unless a beginning be made, by introducing the natives into the inferior offices, to test their power and to test their fidelity, can they ever be prepared to enter into the higher offices?"

"But I submit that there is that beginning, and that principle has been extensively acted upon since 1827, when Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General.

"617. Are you aware of the existence of any feeling of soreness on the part of the natives, at not being admitted into the covenanted service?"

"I am not.

"618. Are not many of the higher appointments now held by the natives, very much superior in importance and in profit, to the lower offices held by the covenanted servants?"

"Many of them are.

"619. Would not your principle exclude all the natives from any covenanted office, till every native is fit for every covenanted office?"

"That would be an extreme application of the principle, which I should be sorry to see.

"620. Can you show the Committee in what way, upon the principle which you are adopting, you fall short of that?"

"I think the Government, acting upon the principle which I have mentioned, would be the best judge of the time when it should be adopted.

"621. You have expressed the opinion that the time may shortly arrive, when the natives may be employed in all situations; would it not then be desirable that they should be introduced gradually, without laying down any general rule with regard to their being limited to certain classes of appointments?"

"It is being introduced gradually, but without breaking down the distinction which, I think, should be maintained so long as it is deemed essential, to preserve European supervision and control."

No one will suspect Mr. Mill of taking a narrow view of such a question as this. He looks far into the future, and even

contemplates the time, when the natives of India may again take the Government of the country into their own hands, and “do without our assistance” :—

“3111. Is not a native rendered eligible for any appointment under the last Charter Act ?

“The last Charter Act took away all legal disabilities ; but there is a practical exclusion, and so there must be, until the natives are very much improved in character.

“3112. But legally, a native of India is eligible for any appointment ?

“He is.

“3113. He is not excluded because he is a native of India, but he is excluded because he has not passed through Haileybury ?

“That would exclude him from the covenanted Civil Service.

“3114. Do you think that the natives of India are admitted to as large a share in the Civil Government of the country, as they ought, in their present state of education and knowledge, to possess ?

“There is a great and growing desire to admit them to all offices for which they are considered sufficiently qualified in point of trustworthiness. Hitherto, they have not been admitted to any situations in which there is not a controlling European authority over them, but there is hardly any situation admitting of that control to which they are not now eligible ; or if there be any such, there is a constant tendency to open situations to them. They have now, especially in the Bengal and Agra provinces, almost the whole of the administration of justice in the first instance, subject to appeal to Europeans. They are also largely employed as deputy collectors, that is, in the branch of the Government, on which the prosperity of the country depends more than on any other ; and those situations are sought for by natives of the highest rank and connexions. There was a remarkable proof of this some years ago in the North-West Provinces. When the Nawab of Rampur died, who was the descendant of Fyzulla Khan, the chief who ruled over the portion left in existence of the Rohilla power, which was crushed by Warren Hastings,—when this Nawab died, leaving no direct heirs, the collateral, who was next in succession, was a deputy collector in our provinces, and two other near relations of the deceased Nawab happened to be deputy collectors also. The new Nawab went from being a deputy collector under our Government to succeed to his own principality, and he immediately commenced introducing the improvements which he had learned under our system.

"3115. Have those native officers of the Government, Europeans placed under them?

"As deputy collectors they have no Europeans under them as subordinate officers, but only natives.

"3116. If the natives of India were to occupy a very large portion of the higher civil and military appointments of the country, do you suppose that we should continue to maintain the dependence of India upon this country?

"If the natives were allowed to wield the military force of India, I think it would be impossible to maintain British ascendancy there; but I think it would be perfectly possible to open to them a very large share of the Civil Government without its having any such effect.

"3117. Without having any European supervision?

"I do not think you could make a native Governor-General, but I think natives might in time be appointed to many of the higher administrative offices.

"3118. Do you think they might be members of Council?

"Not; I should think, at present; but in proportion as the natives become trust-worthy and qualified for high office, it seems to me not only allowable, but a duty to appoint them to it.

"3119. Do you think, that in those circumstances the dependence of India upon this country could be maintained?

"I think it might, by judicious management, be made to continue till the time arrives, when the natives shall be qualified to carry on the same system of Government without our assistance."

This, it is to be remarked, is the evidence of an India House official. It is obviously Mr. Mill's opinion, that when the natives of India shall have reached a height of qualification for self-government, which would render their exclusive administration of the empire advantageous to the general happiness of the people, it will be our duty to leave them to govern themselves "without our assistance." This is what Lord Ellenborough calls a danger which it may require all the wisdom of Parliament to meet. "The Committee must recollect," he said in his evidence before the Commons' Committee, "that there are new dangers opening upon us, which may require all the wisdom of Parliament to meet. There is a strong desire to extend education among the natives. I recollect having had a visit from Dwarkanauth Tagore, who was the most intelligent native that ever appeared in this country, and one of the most intelligent in his own country. I had



‘ read in the newspaper that morning a speech which Dwarkanauth had made on the subject of the education of the natives of India, and when he called upon me, I said, ‘ I see you have been making a speech about education.’—He said, ‘ Have they printed it ?’—I said, ‘ Yes ; they print everything—’ but you and I know, in this room, we need not talk as if we were talking for publication, but we may say exactly what we think. You know that if these gentlemen who wish to educate the natives of India were to succeed to the utmost extent of their desire, we should not remain in this country three months.’—He said, ‘ Not three weeks ;’ and perfectly true was his judgment. Now, endeavours are made not only to educate the natives and to give them European knowledge, which is power, and to give them European ideas ; but at the same time to raise them in the Civil Service, for it is now proposed to give them covenanted situations, and practically hereafter to delegate to them almost the whole of the Civil Government of the country, and it is proposed to put the natives in possession of the great civil offices, at a time when the press and increasing railways and electric telegraphs will enable them to communicate and co-operate. How is it then possible that we can, under our present most defective, or, indeed, under any institutions, retain our hold over that country ? It is contrary to all reason. No intelligent people would submit to our Government. These things must be considered ; and great care must be taken by Parliament in determining what shall be the future Government of India.” And then Lord Ellenborough proceeded to argue on the advantages of the direct Government and authority of the Crown.

It is instructive to contrast the language of Lord Ellenborough with that of the India House officials, and, indeed, of the Court of Directors themselves, on this most important subject of the diffusion of education among the natives of India. His Lordship discourses of the dangers of native enlightenment, and though he does not say *totidem verbis* that he would limit the educational efforts of the existing Government, that is plainly the tendency of his remarks. If we let the natives of India know too much, we shall very soon lose India. He says this is a danger to be met. It can only be met by teaching the natives less ; and to this end, it seems, that he would transfer the Government of India to the Crown. The inference then is, that, in Lord Ellenborough’s estimation, the Crown Government would either be more likely to repress the

educational tendencies of the age—to keep back the natives of India, as they endeavour to press forward along the paths of knowledge—or that being a stronger, a more vigorous Government, with larger resources at its command, it would be better able to repress the revolutionary out-bursts, which too much enlightenment may occasion from time to time, whilst the process of education is going on, and to govern India wholly by his Lordship's favourite sceptre, the sword.

But the language of the Court of Directors is this—"In every view it is important that the indigenous people of India, or those amongst them who, by their habits, character or position, may be induced to aspire to office, should, as far as possible, be qualified to meet their European competitors. Here, then, arises a powerful argument for the promotion of every design tending to the improvement of the natives, whether by conferring on them the advantages of education, or by diffusing among them the treasures of science, knowledge, and moral culture. For these desirable results we are well aware that you, like ourselves, are anxious; and we doubt not that in order to impel you to increased exertion for the promotion of them, you (the Supreme Government of India) will need no stimulant beyond a simple reference to the considerations we have here suggested. While, however, we entertain these wishes and opinions, we must guard against the supposition, that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunities of official distinction, that we expect our Government to benefit the millions subjugated to their authority. We have repeatedly expressed to you a very different sentiment. Facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of the people under any Government, and, perhaps, least under a good Government. It is not by holding out incentives to official ambition; but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by securing to industry the fruits of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that the Government best minister to the public wealth and happiness. In effect the free access to office is chiefly valuable, when it is a part of general freedom."

Now these are no fictitious words, put into the mouths of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, after the manner of Mr. Landor, in his *Imaginary Conversations*. The passage, as we have given it word for word (having already quoted the substance of a portion of it,) is part of an actual

despatch, sent out by the Court to the Supreme Government, after the passing of the last Charter Act. It were well, we say, that this language should be contrasted with that of Lord Ellenborough; it were well that the spirit and intent of the two passages should be contrasted. That which in the estimation of the Court is a *desideratum*, Lord Ellenborough esteems to be a danger. The Court are profoundly impressed with the conviction that it is their duty to promote education, and to diffuse knowledge among the natives of India to the utmost extent of their ability. Lord Ellenborough is of opinion, that the promotion of education and the diffusion of knowledge are such dangerous things, that they require all the wisdom of Parliament to "to meet," i.e. to counteract them. And he says, that under our present defective system, we cannot maintain ourselves in India, against the progressive advances of knowledge. But we put it to our European readers, we put it still more earnestly and emphatically to our native friends, whether that system of Government can be so very defective in which are inherent such principles as those laid down in the above passage of the Court's despatch, not a common despatch upon some casual, accidental topic, with a stereotyped "tag" attached to it, as a matter of course, but a despatch such as is written only once in twenty years, reviewing earnestly and solemnly the whole system of Indian Government, and expounding their views of the intentions of the British Legislature conveyed in the Act under which India is governed. We put it to our native friends, whether it is in the Court of Directors, who take this liberal enlightened view of their duties, and lay down these principles for the guidance of their servants, or in Lord Ellenborough, who is eloquent on the dangers of education and the perils of enlightenment, that they may more safely repose their confidence.

In our inmost hearts, we believe that, under no form of Government, directly subject to the Crown, can the natives of India have more steady and consistent friends than they now have in the Court of Directors. That India can ever be governed for the benefit of the people, whilst costly and disastrous wars, and the constant annexation of new territories, dry up the very springs of well-doing, is clearly impossible. But have these costly and disastrous wars been made by the Court of Directors? The natives of India may be assured that the greatest evil, which they can ever have to encounter, is a tendency to war-making. These constantly recurring wars are the calamities which most affect the people of India, and

most retard their social and political advancement. But every step towards a greater infusion of what, for want of a better mode of designation, we may call the Crown element, into the Government of India, is sure to expose the people more and more to the chances of new wars, and the necessary recurrence of those financial difficulties, which annihilate all domestic improvement, and press so heavily upon the resources of the people. Surely we are not flying in the face of written history—of demonstrable fact—when we say that judging by the past, the future welfare of India is dependent not upon the enhancement, but upon the diminution of the power of the Crown ministers in the Councils of India. It is by governing India, upon considerations of Indian policy, not of English policy (which is only another name for *party*), that we may best promote the welfare of the millions committed to our rule.

We purpose to insist more urgently upon this point, because we believe that the matter is very imperfectly understood by our native friends. Even the best-informed of our native readers have a very obscure conception of what *party* is in England. They are told that it would be better for them to be governed by the Crown, and, perhaps, they have a clearer idea upon the whole of a King upon the throne than of a "Company" in Leadenhall-street. But they who talk to them about the Government of the Crown and the Crown Ministers, and tell them nothing about *party*, grossly deceive them. England is governed, not by the Queen on the throne, but by a *party* in Downing-street. But the Government of England is a representative Government, and the people are stronger than party. If they do not like the party in power, they turn it out, and replace it by another more to their taste. The remedy, therefore, to a certain extent, is in their own hands. But the people of India would have no such remedy against bad Government. India would be a tool in the hands of a party more or less scrupulous and honest. It would be a stalking horse for embarrassed politicians. It would be turned to all sorts of party uses. And the people of India would have no remedy. All sorts of motives, entirely unassociated with any idea of the happiness of the people of India, would be continually at work. The measures of one Government would be revoked by another. There would be a constant building-up and pulling-down—a pulling-down and building-up again. If the great battle of party were not fought upon Indian ground, there would be frequent disastrous skirmishes upon it. We speak here of political warfare—of party strife.

But the getting up of actual wars, with all their concomitant waste of blood and treasure, solely for party purposes, is no new thing in the history of nations. It is not pleasant to write this. It is not pleasant to speak in such terms of the statesmanship of our own country. We write it with a melancholy conviction of its truth. The war in Afghanistan—the greatest and most disastrous iniquity of modern times—was a party war. The East India Company had nothing to do with it,—but the payment of the cost.

And only imagine what mighty benefits might have been conferred upon the people of India, if the money spent on these ruinous wars had been at the disposal of the East India Company for purposes of domestic improvement! The first Burmese war cost fifteen millions of pounds sterling.

The extraordinary military charges since the commencement of the Afghan war have amounted to thirty millions, besides five millions and a half of increased interest on the debt. That debt has risen from 29,832,299£ in 1836, to 46,908,064£ in 1850, and the present Burmese war will raise it to a still higher figure. The interest payable on the debt amounted, in the last of these years, to nearly two millions and a quarter per annum, little short of a tenth of our total revenue. The penalty, which we are paying for the Scinde war, amounts at the present time to about twenty lakhs (£200,000) per annum. To that extent it is computed, that the reduced charges of the province exceed the receipts. This is exclusive of the expense of the regular troops of the Scinde division of the army, which is estimated at twenty lakhs more. In the eight years, from 1843-44 to 1850-51 inclusive, the excess of outlay over receipts, on account of Scinde, has amounted to nearly three millions of money. These are a few of the financial results of wars undertaken in spite of the East India Company. And there is nothing upon which the natives of India should keep their eyes more steadily fixed, than upon the enormous military expenditure resulting from the prosecution of unjust wars. These wars have, in almost every instance, been undertaken, by what may be called the English party—that is, by English statesmen and soldiers acting together, in known disregard of the wishes of the East India Company.

Now Lord Ellenborough is of opinion, that it would be expedient to diminish the Indian interest, and to make the English interest paramount in all departments of the administration. "I think," he says in his evidence before the House of Commons, "that it is desirable that all those who serve the Government

in India should have, as much as possible, the most intimate connexion with England, be dependent upon England, and have no interest that can be by possibility separated from that of this country. The higher the class from which you take the officers of the Indian Government, the greater the security for the constant connexion between India and England." In other words, Lord Ellenborough is anxious to fill the services with English aristocrats. The reader will do well to turn back to Mr. Mill's evidence, quoted at the commencement of this article. The contrast is a curious one. Mr. Mill is of opinion, that our best security for good Government in India is the absence of this, the very aristocratic element which Lord Ellenborough desires to infuse more largely into our administration. Mr. Mill may have somewhat overestimated the extent to which we are emancipated from these aristocratic influences, but we do not doubt the soundness of the principle inculcated in this passage of his evidence. Lord Ellenborough's scheme is nothing more than a plan for the surrender of India, bound hand and foot, into the hands of party. As it is, we have nothing to do with party politics. Lord Hardinge, in his evidence before the House of Commons, adduced an illustration of this, which is worth quoting—"The great object of the Governor-General," he said, "when he goes to India, is to select the best men he can find for the offices he has to bestow in the country. There is nothing like party feeling or political influence known. I had a gentleman on my staff, who had been Lord William Bentinck's Military Secretary, and Lord Auckland's; he had been also employed by Lord Ellenborough; he was at the Military Board, which corresponds with our Ordnance Board; when I went up the country, taking with me the offices which were necessary for fulfilling the duties of Governor-General, I took this officer with me, and after he had been with me two years, I found in some discussion after dinner with my staff, that he was very liberal in his views, approaching to a radical in this country, upon which I expressed my astonishment, never having heard a word of politics from him, during the time we were together. He is now in this country, and well known to the Honorable Member for Ripon; that officer is Colonel Benson. I may say of that officer, that he is as able as he is brave in the field, and I cite this instance to show that we know nothing of party politics in India."

Should we be able to say this, if the connexion between England and India were strengthened, as Lord Ellenborough proposes, by the sale of appointments to Young English

aristocrats? We are free from party influences now, because the majority of our public servants in India belong to those classes in which party feeling is little operative, or not at all. They are members of families in which a change of Ministry is a public event, not affecting their individual interests, to be discussed, perhaps, during an idle half-hour, and then settled down under perfect unconcern. But the men whom Lord Ellenborough proposes to send out to India would be members of families, with whom the rise and fall of parties are matters of grave account. They would go out as young Tories or young Whigs. They would fight the battles of their party on Indian soil. The Governor-General and the Home Ministry would be every thing to them, for evil or for good. The Company would be held of no account. But as Lord Ellenborough desires, that the entire constitution of the Court of Directors should be a *tabula rasa*, this matter, perhaps, ought not to be taken into consideration at all.

We think that we have written enough to show that the tendencies of the Government of the East India Company are infinitely more liberal and large-minded than those of the system which Lord Ellenborough and his supporters would substitute for it. The latter would anglicanise the Indian Government more and more—would check the diffusion of knowledge among the natives of India, and curb the propensity which now exists to open to them more freely the doors of official employment—and worse than all, would open the flood-gates of party politics upon us, and remove the only barrier which stands between the people of India, and the tender mercies of a faction beyond the reach of popular control.

We have now discussed the principal topics which we had proposed to ourselves in the present paper, reserving others for investigation, in our next issue, when the *Blue Book*, emanating from the other House of Parliament, comes formally under review. But before we bring our article to a close, we must say a few words regarding the following passage relating to the Indian Press, contained in the evidence of Mr. Mill:—

“ 3151. Do you see any difficulties likely to accrue from the unlicensed liberty of the press ?

“ I think both the dangers and the advantages of the free press in India have been very much over-rated; that the dangers were over-rated is proved by the fact; it was anticipated by many people, that if full license were allowed to the press, it would drive us out of India altogether.

“ 3152. Do not you believe that there is this difference in

the character of the Indian press, as compared with the press of this country, that whereas in this country, the tone of the press is decidedly superior to that of ordinary conversation on the subjects of which it treats, in India it is the exact reverse of that; and that if any one were to form an opinion of the general state and tone of European society from the comments made by the Indian press, he would form a very unfair estimate of the general character of European society in the country?

"I cannot speak from much actual knowledge of the Indian press; my impression certainly is, that the English newspapers in India are of very little use to good Government, except in promoting enquiry, and drawing the attention of Government to facts which they might have overlooked. From the little knowledge I have of the Indian newspaper press, I should say that its comments are seldom of any value.

"3153. Is not the style such as does not prevail in good society; would not it give to those who read habitually the leading articles in those newspapers an impression that the tone of society is very inferior to what it is?

"I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Indian press to be able to answer the question.

"3154. Are you aware that in point of fact, the tone of society in India is as good as it is in this country?

"I know nothing to the contrary.

"3155. You said that not only were the dangers that were expected to accrue from the establishment of a free press in India exaggerated, but also that the expected advantages were exaggerated. Is that your opinion?

"It is. As long as the great mass of the people in India have very little access to the press, it is in danger of being an organ exclusively of individual interests. The English newspaper press in India is the organ only of the English society, and chiefly of the part of it unconnected with the Government. It has little to do with the natives, or with the great interests of India.

"3156. Does not the Government of India labour under this particular disadvantage, that they have no means of defence against unworthy imputations which the press throws out, not being represented in the press?

"Certainly. It is the practice of the Indian authorities, both in India and in England, to look on, while their proceedings are the subject of unmeasured obloquy by the



‘ newspapers and in public discussions, without taking any means of getting a correct statement made of their measures, and of the grounds upon which they have been adopted.

“ 3157. Is there not this difference in India as compared with England, that whereas in England, if an attack is made upon the Government, there is a Government paper that undertakes to rebut it: in India, there is no such opportunity of stating the truth?

“ I think the same observation applies to attacks upon the Indian administration in this country; it is very seldom that any portion of the press takes up the cause of the Indian Government.”

We do not conceive that such incidental references as these, or others to be found in the yet unpublished evidence of Mr. Willoughby before the Committee of the House of Commons, are of any very great importance. They are rather to be regarded as collateral illustrations of other topics, than as evidence in any way affecting the future prospects of the press itself. The freedom of the press is a *fait accompli*. You might as well think of closing our ports again, and restoring the Company’s old monopoly, as of re-establishing the censorship. We shall not, therefore, write a line on the general subject of the freedom of the Indian press; but we may remonstrate against the tone of contempt in which Mr. Mill has spoken of it. The Indian reader will perceive at once that the India House official is here discoursing upon a subject, with which he has practically but slight acquaintance. This, indeed, he himself admits. “From the little knowledge,” he says, “I have of the Indian newspaper press, I should say that its comments are seldom of any value.” It is because he has only this little knowledge that he has arrived at such a conclusion. “A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.”

We admit that there are newspapers in India, whose comments are “seldom of any value.” There are newspapers of this class—scores of them—in Great Britain. But it would be no more just to take one of the least worthy of our local journals as a type of the Indian press, than to try the respectability of the English Press by the Holwell-street *Standard*, or its intelligence by that of the paste-and-scissors literature of an obscure provincial journal. There may be in India public prints both stupid and disreputable. But are there no stupid and disreputable journals in England? And is the general respectability and intelligence of the press to be denied, because there are unworthy members of it? Every profession

has its black sheep. Literature is not free from the taint.

We are speaking of the better class of Indian journals when we say that the general intelligence and propriety of the press in this country is by no means below the average of these qualities discernible in the general mass of Anglo-Indian society. It is hardly "in the nature of the case"—to use one of Mr. Mill's favorite expressions—that a stupid and ludicrous press should be supported by an intelligent and decorous public. Even in a society so limited as that of the English in India, the demand for any description of literature will soon produce the supply. It is not to be said that the Anglo-Indian public only tolerate the press, as it is, for want of a better. No public journal could exist for any length of time under this contemptuous toleration. It could only be under some overwhelming necessity, that the members of our Anglo-Indian community would combine to support a press below their own standard of intelligence. Mr. Dickens's imagination has conceived a description of literature so hopelessly dreary, that Robinson Crusoe on his lone island would turn away from it in despair. But we are sceptical about this. Where there is an overwhelming necessity to read Mr. Pardiggle's tracts or nothing, we conceive that the tracts would have the preference. But we know no overwhelming necessity of this kind, that can reconcile our intelligent Anglo-Indian community to a periodical literature, which does not in any way reflect the general intelligence of the reading classes.

This, in a few words, is the theory of the question; but we desire to take a more practical view of it. The tone of the Anglo-Indian press is not below the tone of Anglo-Indian society, because the members of the press, as individuals, are often among the most intelligent members of that society. A considerable number of the most intelligent members of both services—Civil and Military—have contributed largely to the Indian press. If a man leaves his regiment, to conduct an Indian journal, it may be assumed, though the act itself should be injudicious, that he is not the greatest fool in his corps. Members of Council are supposed to be the *elite* of the services. But it is not very long since it was stated, and not untruly, that, some ten or twelve years ago, many of the minutes of one of the members of the Supreme Council of India were written by the Military Editor of the *Englishman*. The extensive local knowledge of the Editor of the *Friend of India*, to which Mr. Willoughby has borne testimony, is unsurpassed

by that possessed by any member of the service. The principal writers in the *Hurkaru*, for many years past, have been gentlemen at the head of our Government Educational Institutions; and our Principals and Professors are not chosen from among men below the general intellectual standard of Anglo-Indian society. As in England, so in India, the local press owes much to the legal profession. Among the contributors to our journals, past and present, are some of the most distinguished members of the Calcutta Bar. One of our best Police Magistrates was taken from the Editor's chair. We take our illustrations from the circle of our own immediate neighbours, but many of equal cogency might be gathered from the recent annals of the Bombay and Madras presses. And we cannot help thinking, that this *argumentum ad hominem* is more conclusive than any other. If the principal writers for the Indian press are men generally esteemed for intelligence, and, indeed, publicly and officially recognized as men of superior intelligence, there would seem to be little likelihood of their writings reflecting an amount of intelligence below that possessed by the general mass of Anglo-Indian society.

It is very clear, *e necessitate rei*, that the larger the community, the larger the amount of available talent, and that, as with the legal or medical, so with the literary profession, the intelligence manifested in so limited a community as this must, necessarily, fall short of that which manifests itself in the larger sphere of British social life. As we have had no Erskines and Broughams in the legal, and no Coopers and Abernethys in our medical professions, so it must be conceded that the literary excellence of the *Times* newspaper is quite unattainable in this country. Here the sphere of selection is necessarily limited. We cannot infuse into any journal that constant succession of new talent by which only it can be kept up to the point of vigour which the *Times* alone, perhaps, of all our home journals, continually maintains. But when we come to consider the relative intelligence of Indian and English journalism, we must take into account the fact, that whereas English newspaper-writers imported into this country invariably fail, there are instances of our journalists taking at once a fair place as conductors of, or contributors to, English journals, and, perhaps, obtaining higher literary repute in England than they ever obtained among ourselves. If it be said, that the instances are few, it may be added that the experiments have been few. But they bear at least a fair proportion to the amount of success achieved by members of the Indian legal or medical

professions at home; and this would not be the case if the intelligence of the Indian press were below that of general society.

Another error into which Mr. Mill has fallen is, that our Indian journalists are not in communication with Government servants, and that the latter never correct the errors into which the former are betrayed. But, in point of fact, nothing is more common. The conductors of the better class of Indian journals are in constant intercourse with the servants of Government, and in the constant receipt of information from them. False statements seldom appear without receiving contradiction more or less direct, more or less authoritative. Every Indian journalist of experience and repute has received, in his time, hundreds of letters from Government servants, either supplying or seeking information relative to statements which have appeared in his columns. And we believe that there are few, if any instances, of Indian journalists closing their columns against such contradictions or explanations. Sometimes a Government servant supplies the necessary information to a rival journal, and even then the antidote, if the original statement be shown to be false, is generally supplied by the newspaper which committed the mistake in the first instance—a stretch of candour and fair-dealing seldom to be met with in the English press. Indeed, we believe that there are no journals in the world so habitually open to contradictions and explanations afforded by competent parties, as the journals of British India. If a servant of Government, seeing a false statement in a local journal, that is calculated to do mischief, desires to disabuse the public mind of the pernicious error, he has only to write a private note to the conductor of the journal, in which the false statement originally appeared, to secure the immediate dissemination of the truth.

We have confined ourselves strictly to the points touched upon by Mr. Mill. It is possible that, on a future occasion, we may glance at Mr. Willoughby's statement relative to the general hostility, as regards the acts of the local administration, of the Indian press. But before we quit the subject altogether, we may say a few words regarding the final observation contained in the extract which we have quoted from Mr. Mill's evidence. He says that the Indian administration at home never notices the attacks made upon it by the English press. "It is very seldom," he adds, "that any portion of the press takes up the cause of the Indian Government." And this we really believe to be true. If the Indian press be generally antagonistic to the Government of the Company, the

English press is still more sweeping and unscrupulous in its antagonism. The difference between the two is, that the former deals in specific, the latter in general, charges. The former is more precise, the latter is more declamatory. By the latter the entire character of the Indian Government is wholly misunderstood. The statements of any mob-orator, or travelling-lecturer, or any obscure paper or periodical, are believed, so long as they are only vituperative enough. Virulent denunciations of a system, of which no intelligible account is given, make striking articles, easy to write and pleasant to read. Every body who writes, knows that the easiest style of writing—that which requires least expenditure of thought, and least selection of words, is the abusive. John Company has long been the “best abused man” in all England. Something of the declamatory energy of Burke seems to have descended, in a diluted state, to the English press. Not long ago we read in an English Review an article headed “THE TRADER SOVEREIGN AND THE HINDU SLAVE.” It is so easy to condemn, in round terms, a great public body; and you are sure to find readers for your abuse, if you lay it on thick enough. General impressions are easily carried off; but facts are difficult to remember. A defence of the East India Company is an array of facts, and not very intelligible facts. They burden the memory, are uncomfortable things to deal with, not to be retained without difficulty, and, on the whole, better to be ignored. But a few strong epithets, or even a few brief stereotyped sentences of declamation, are readily kept in store. They are the stock in trade of ignorance. They cost little, are always available, and are easily to be communicated. Indeed, a copious use of hard names saves a deal of trouble, both to writers and readers; so we are not surprised that it is resorted to in place of a laborious enquiry into facts.

Whether the Court of Directors have not carried the *intégral virtue me involvo* system a little too far, is a matter which, we think, may fairly admit of a doubt. Indeed, we believe that we are not wrong in saying that among the Directors themselves there is a difference of opinion on this important subject. The determination to *live down calumny* may be taken as a proof of conscious rectitude. The acute author of *Friends in Council* says, “that we should not be too eager to enter into explanations of our conduct, that in doing so, we often trouble ourselves unnecessarily, for that things will right themselves in time.” But Mr. Helps is here speaking of individual conduct; and men may deal with their own characters as they

please. But the East India Company is not an individual, or a collection of individuals, but a great historical fact. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the mists of gross error and prejudice, which have long surrounded it, ought to be suffered to accumulate without an effort to disperse them. The cause of truth demands, that the character of the East India Company should not be enveloped with an atmosphere of lies.

But although the Court of Directors have held themselves aloof from all direct connexion with the periodical press, and have concocted no sustained measures for the vindication of their character, before the eyes of the public, we do not believe, on that account, that they are ignorant of, or insensible to, the importance of one of the greatest motive powers in the world. They cannot regard so mighty an agency with contemptuous unconcern. And yet such has been asserted of them. A very able weekly contemporary, in an article on "the Government and the Press," characterized by considerable truth and candour, recently said, "We speak with great regret, when we remark that the Court appear to have considered it a duty to 'treat the periodical press with the most lofty contempt, as utterly beneath its notice.'" But we have been informed on authority, which admits of no question, that there is in the great Leadenhall-street mansion hardly a committee-room, a department office, or a Director's private room, in which the yellow cover containing the last issue of this journal is not to be seen. And what is of more consequence, we believe, that the contents of the yellow covers are very extensively read. We believe, too, that our cotemporary's own lucubrations are not treated "with lofty contempt" by the India House officials, but that, on the other hand, very soon after the arrival of the overland mail, they are in pretty general circulation throughout all the labyrinths of that great building.

The "lofty contempt" of which the *Friend of India* speaks, is confined to an entire abstinence from all external connexion with the press, either in India or in England; but that the Court of Directors are ready, at any time, to avail themselves of important information or valuable suggestions, which reach them through a medium, by no means considered contemptible, and that, so far from being angered by any discreet communications made by their servants to the periodical press, they have approved of such intercourse, and indirectly aided it, are facts for which vouchers may readily be found. If we may be allowed to say a word about our own experience;—it must be perfectly well known at the India House, that a

large number of the articles contributed to this *Review*, ever since its establishment, have been the works of members of the two services; and it must be equally patent to every member of the Direction that the materials on which many of these articles have been founded, could have been obtained only through official channels. But we are not aware that any of the articles written under these circumstances have given offence to the Court of Directors. The result, if we may believe well-informed London correspondents, is precisely the reverse. Certainly, our official contributors have not gone back in the world since they began to contribute to our pages. If the connexion to which we owe so much of our own success has had no effect in advancing theirs, we are certain that it has not retarded it. In estimating these facts, it ought to be borne in mind that, of all the respectable Indian periodicals, the *Calcutta Review* is, probably the one that has from time to time contained the strongest and severest articles in condemnation of various features of the Company's administration.

We readily acquit, therefore, the Court of Directors of a lofty contempt for the press, and a perverse hostility to it. They have, certainly, taken a vast deal of abuse in a very quiet contemptuous manner, and much of the virulent mendacity with which they have been assailed, is deserving only of contempt. But to despise the ignorance or malevolence of those who deal out wholesale charges which they either know to be false or do not know to be true, is not to despise the press. Still, perhaps, they carry to an undue excess their outward indifference to the calumnies with which they are so freely assailed; for, although these calumnies may be despicable in themselves, they are not always despicable in their results. The result, indeed, is a general misapprehension of the character of the Company's Government. And it is always worth our while, whatever we may think of it, to strangle a popular lie.

There is, of course, great compensation in the conviction, now justified by the fact, that when their doings come to be scrutinized and investigated by the highest tribunal in the land, the verdict will be in their favor. But for this verdict they have to wait twenty years, and a lie of twenty years' growth, which has been all that time striking deep root in the public mind, is not easily eradicated. The public do not care to read gigantic blue books; and if they did, these ponderous piles of evidence read once every twenty years, would not efface the impressions produced by the "continual dropping" of highly seasoned invectives against the Company's Government, the drift of which

is so easy to understand, and so easy to remember. Lords and Commons may both report, as in the volume before us, that the general tendency of the evidence taken by them, is "favorable to the present system of administering the affairs of India;" and the general verdict of the legislature, as declared in their acts, may demonstrate, that, in the opinions of the representatives of the people, the East India Company have given a good account of their stewardship; but still the people may not be convinced. The press alone can persuade the people. Now, in our estimation, it were well worth the Company's while to consider whether the traditional errors relative to the misgovernment of the Company, to which the English press cling with so much tenacity, might not advantageously be exploded. If the enemies of the Company had not been much more active than their friends, these traditional errors would not have attained to such respectable longevity.

We had not purposed to make further allusion to the evidence taken before the Commons' Committee, but having touched upon the subject of the press, we cannot refrain from quoting the following passage of Lord Hardinge's evidence:—

"2406. (*Mr. Baillie.*)—Do you think that, with a country so absolute in its Government as that of India, there is any danger in the existence of a free press?

"I am of opinion that a free press may, and sometimes is, dangerous in an eastern country, but I cannot say that it has hitherto produced a bad effect. It has frequently detected improper matters which would not bear the light, and has done, in that respect, some good; but in India there is an English feeling in the European community, to have a newspaper every morning at their breakfast table. A great number of Europeans contribute to those newspapers, and the consequence is, that there are frequently very improper and libellous matters contained in those papers, and in that respect it operates, I should say, prejudicially to the general tone of society. In a war, if there was any lengthened struggle, it might be very prejudicial indeed; so much so, that it would be necessary, in many instances, to suppress the discussion of military operations during the campaign; the number of troops moving up, particularly now that railways are to be established. Officers of the army very frequently write to their friends at the Presidencies, informing them what the operations are; those letters appear in the papers next day, and would be in forty-eight hours, back again in our camp and that of the enemy. Great inconvenience might result in such a case



‘ from the liberty of the press ; but at the same time, at the present moment, I may say, it has done much good in detecting and correcting a good deal of evil ; and there are several papers most honourably and ably conducted.

“ 2406. My question had reference principally to the effects that might be produced upon the natives hereafter, considering the great extension of education which is going on in India ?

“ I have no doubt that the press may be, whilst the people is in a state of transition, a dangerous instrument in times of excitement ; at the same time I do not think it so at present, in quiet times.

“ 2407. (*Chairman.*)—We are told that it was not allowed to officials in India to answer any article which appears in the papers in India ?

“ No, nor is it permitted here to our officers, except on personal affairs. The difficulty is this : if I, as the Governor-General, were attacked, and if I think it very important to deny the accusation, and I have the means of proving how ill-founded the libel is, if I do it in one case in which I disprove the charge, I must do so continuously in other cases, or it will be inferred the charge is true. As regards officers of the army or Civil Servants, up to the higher ranks, the members of Council, and even the Governor-General himself, if they once begin to vindicate their acts, there is very great difficulty in not pursuing the same course when the attacks are repeated. Information on any public measure, tending to correct an erroneous impression, or to convey useful knowledge, is resorted to with good effect, and the respectable papers are always ready to give their assistance in circulating it.

“ 2408. You think it would be inconvenient to allow Civil Servants to answer attacks made upon the Government ?

“ Yes, the publication of reports upon the progress of the civilization of the country, the cultivation of lands, and the matters of revenue and excise, are very useful to the officers of the Civil Service ; and a great deal of good might be done in that line by publication ; an officer of the Civil Service goes to an out-station, and has not above two or three Europeans with whom he associates for two or three years. He also associates with the natives ; thus isolated, he should be kept informed of all that is passing at a distance, and periodical papers conveying the information and news of the day are almost a necessity.

"2409. Is it your opinion that any publication should be submitted to the Government of the Presidency before publication?

"Certainly, Mr. Thomason publishes periodical statements of the revenue, and other matters connected with his Presidency. Those publications are attended with very good effect.

"2410. (*Mr. Wilson.*)—Is it not the case that that portion of the press which is most noted for its libellous character has very little influence?

"It has very little influence, but it causes a very great deal of annoyance; courts martial are more frequent, and ill blood arises between individuals; for instance, an officer may be reprimanded justly by his commanding officer; the commanding officer is attacked in the newspapers, discipline may be relaxed, if the commanding officer is deficient in moral courage to brave those libels.

"2411. But those attacks in the papers in which they are put, have been attended with very little practical evil, from the small influence that those papers have?

"As regards the Persian newspapers, into which matters of the most importance are translated, many of them go to Afghanistan, and thence to Bokhara; they inform the people of those countries, that there is a hope that the British troops may be beaten in an encounter with the Sikhs, or when the account of a misfortune at the Cape is received, it is immediately translated into the Persian language, and it travels into Afghanistan and Bokhara, and Herat; so that the system of allowing a free press extends very rapidly, not only throughout India, but through the countries adjacent to India; and when railways are established, and education becomes more extensive, it is difficult to say what may be the result of a free press in our eastern empire.

"2412. But the information in Cape papers and English papers might be translated in the same way; and, therefore, if the press were restricted in India, it would not stop the evil which you apprehend from such information being translated into the languages of the native states?

"I do not suppose it would altogether.

"2413. (*Mr. Hume.*)—You have been asked a question respecting the danger of the press in India. Has it come within your knowledge that many abuses, both civil and military, have been noticed indirectly and directly in the newspapers, before those facts came to the knowledge of the official authorities?

"I cannot recollect any particular instance at the present moment : misconduct on the part of those in power can be brought to light by the press."

There are few, we believe, of the more respectable members of the Indian press, who will not cheerfully assent to the greater portion of this. It is fair and candid, and, for a Governor-General, extremely liberal. We may admit, too, that there is something in what he says about the danger of free publication, when our intelligence may travel back, along iron roads, within a few days, to the enemy's camp. But may not this argument be applied to the question of a Free press in all countries? May not the evil exist nearer home?

Lord Hardinge's evidence is, in many important reports, an answer to Lord Ellenborough's—we shall speak of it more in detail in our next issue. He believes that the present system of Government is that which is most likely to promote the welfare of the people of India ; and we trust that we have done something, in this article, to show that this is no mere conjecture, but a substantial fact.

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## MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

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*Journal of a tour in Ceylon and India, undertaken at the request of the Baptist Missionary Society, in company with the Rev. J. Leechman, M. A., with observations and remarks. By Joshua Russel. London. 1852.*

WE have much pleasure in noticing this work. It is one of very little pretension, but one that we think likely to be of great use among a certain class of readers at home. Of those who take an interest in missions, a great proportion, we believe, belong to the unlearned and industrious classes. To this numerous and most important part of the Christian community at home, general works on India, and other foreign countries, are comparatively unknown; and we extend the remark even to such lighter works as journals of travellers, letters from abroad, and the like. And yet the persons of whom we speak do take an interest, more or less deep, in foreign countries, and especially in those in which are established the missions to which they are accustomed to contribute their money and their good wishes. And it is precisely to meet the wants of that class of readers, that the now prolific crop of Christian travellers' journals, Christian letters from abroad, Missionary Annuals, &c., has sprung up.

But we regard the book before us as belonging to a class which has peculiar attributes and, (we believe) for the class of readers referred to, peculiar attractions. It is a book about foreign missions, missionaries, and missionary life, by one who has seen for himself on the spot, and has formed his own independent judgment of every thing after personal investigation, *but who is not a missionary*. We hold this to be a great advantage, which missionary books of this kind have over those which are written by missionaries themselves. Books of this kind have certain advantages, which books of the other and more numerous class cannot have, and therefore the well-wishers of missions ought to rejoice in every addition that is made to the catalogue.

Missionaries in general go out (say to India) when they are young and inexperienced. And, although their youth may have the effect of exciting a feeling of paternal interest, as it were, in the minds of the elder portion of the Christian community at home, still the mere fact of their youth renders it impossible that they should be much more than strangers to all the members of the Church or Society with which they are connected, excepting their own personal friends, and the few congregations to which they may have once or twice ministered before going abroad. What we mean to express is, that there is a sort of severance made between the Church at home

and its missionaries abroad, which it would be well to get rid of. It is true, that now and then a missionary goes home in bad health, and tells the good people of what he and his brethren are doing among the heathen. But to most of the people whom he addresses he is a stranger; and after all is most likely a broken-down invalid, at least for the time being, and more fit for a quiet sojourn in the country or by the sea-side, than for the stirring and laborious work of speech-making, which seems somehow to be regarded as the natural vocation of the missionary on furlough. Now, apart from the cruelty and impolicy of asking a man to rush hither and thither, and to be always ready at a moment's notice to speechify by the hour, or (what is worse) to do the talking at some good but weak old spinster's tea party, when he ought to be exercising his feeble frame and resting his weary lungs amid the reviving and soothing influences of a quiet country life,—we ask, apart from the cruelty and impolicy of such a course, is it the best that could be adopted to secure the end in view? We submit that it is not.

The end in view is to render more intelligent and more intense the interest which the Christian people at home take in the progress of missionary work abroad. Now, it is true that the best man to render that interest more intelligent is certainly the missionary himself, who is able to answer all questions, to clear up all doubts, and to rebut and expose all mis-representations. But what we maintain is this, that his testimony would, in most cases, be vastly strengthened, and rendered much more likely to reach the hearts, and, perhaps, the understandings of those whom he addresses *as a stranger*, if they also had their own man standing by—the man whom they had known and revered for years, and who could say to them, “You bade me go and see ‘those things,’ I have gone and seen them, and I can assure you, that all ‘that my friend (as I now can call him) has told you,’ is true, and much ‘more’ which I can tell you, although his modesty leads him to ‘pass it over.’”

We do not mean to insinuate that there is in general any inclination on the part of Christian people at home to doubt or disbelieve the accounts given by missionaries of the people among whom they labour, and the nature of their labours, difficulties, trials, &c. Neither do we mean to insinuate that missionaries are in general apt to err (unconsciously, we mean of course) in the way of mis-statement or exaggeration. We believe that in general the contrary is the case, and that missionaries are more careful in guarding against exaggeration of statement than the Christian people at home are in guarding against too facile belief. But still we hold, that there are many advantages in the plan adopted by the Baptist Missionary Society, of sending out a deputation to visit their mission stations, and report at head-quarters, the results of their personal inquiries. In the present instance, the deputies, Mr. Russel and Mr. Leechman, were instructed to visit the Society's stations in Ceylon and India, and to report. Mr. Leechman, we believe, was formerly a missionary in Bengal himself, so that Mr.

Russel possessed the great advantage of having for his companion one who could interpret for him, and lend him the aid of his former Indian experience in all those little difficulties in which a stranger to the country is apt to be seriously embarrassed and annoyed, especially when the stranger is an elderly gentleman, and accustomed further to the unadventurous life of an English minister of the Gospel. It is not many old gentlemen that would be willing to leave home, and go through all the fatigue and botheration of an Indian journey of several thousands of miles, for any purpose whatever ; and we are sure that very few indeed would go through the fair and foul of eastern travel with the cheerful old-school equanimity that Mr. Russel seems to have carried with him. He sleeps one night in the upper saloon of the *Hindustan*, and in the morning falls through the ventilation-hatch into the lower saloon. This somewhat perilous adventure he quietly dismisses with the remark—" I fell on my feet, which were much bruised ; but otherwise received no hurt." Near the end of his travels, his palki falls, and he wonders that this is only his second accident of the same kind. And so on, throughout the whole journey, he is always ready to take every thing by the right handle, to look at things that might be vexatious on the brighter side, and when occasion offers, to give vent to a vein of old-fashioned humour in a quiet, fatherly sort of joke. But he seems never to have lost sight of the serious business on which he was bent, or to have forgotten the spirit in which such a business should be gone about.

Now we conceive, that the report of a sober-minded, experienced, elderly gentleman, sent out on such a mission, is fitted to be very satisfactory both to the directors of a Society at home, and to the members generally. There are a thousand things that can be made plain in a few words by a disinterested eye-witness, which a voluminous correspondence would fail to clear up, even if they were worth the trouble. And, perhaps, the greatest demand for such explanations relates to money matters. It is not easy, for instance, for people in England, to understand how three hundred a year in Calcutta is no more than a hundred and fifty in Newcastle or Manchester, and how the parson in India must keep his carriage, while the parson at home walks on his feet. We have heard some amusing stories of the complaints sometimes made of Missionary extravagance. One man, we have heard, asked with up-turned eyes, if it was true that Bengal missionaries had poultry on their tables almost every day ! Another inquired whether they had servants to fan them ; while a third hinted something about silver tea-spoons and Britannia-metal forks. Now, a man of sense, who has visited the country, will be able at once to clear away all such nonsensical misunderstandings from the minds of the honest, beef-eating, sea-coal-consuming, folks who entertain them. We say a man of sense, for we have heard of an inspector of missions, who put down the hospitality which was shown to himself to the account of missionary extravagance, and who voted gharis and buggies a sinful indulgence. We believe, that he was cured of the

last mistake by a five-mile walk *in the sun* (as we say in English) with a padre who had sold his buggy, to pay the expenses attending some sickness, or incident of one kind or another in his family. Of course we do not look for much of this sort of discussion in a book ; but it is well that there should be some men at home—men whom their fellow Christians know and respect, and who have themselves felt the heat and thirst and fatigue of Indian life, and who have seen the missionary at his work, and the heathen at his idol worship. And we think it would be well if other Missionary Societies and Churches would follow the example set by the Baptist Society, and send out, from time to time, deputations of the “elders” on such missions of inquiry and encouragement ; for we cannot conceive that almost any thing is better fitted to encourage the missionary amid his exile, with all its monotony and trials, than a friendly visit from one or two of the men most respected for wisdom and goodness in his particular Church. The missionaries can explain many things to the deputies, and the deputies to the missionaries, and again to the directors at home, which years of correspondence might fail to clear up to the satisfaction of either party, and thus the confidence of the directors, and the comfort of the missionaries, might both be increased, and the missionary work in a corresponding measure more vigorously and heartily prosecuted.

Again we say, we have much pleasure in noticing this book, and heartily wish we had many more of the same class to notice.

*Report of the Board of Education, from May 1, 1851, to April 30, 1852. No. X. Bombay. 1852.*

We presume that there is a slight mistake in this title, and that the goodly, cloth-bound, four-hundred-and-seventy-five-paged volume before us, while it is the Tenth Report issued by the Bombay Educational Board, is the first, and is meant to be the last, relating to the official year 1851-52, instead of being, as its title seems to indicate, the tenth relating to that year.

It appears from the Report, that an annual grant of Rs. 1,25,000 is put at the disposal of the Board. But they allude also to a Reserved Fund (whence obtained we do not know, though we suppose that previous Reports of the Board, if we had access to them, would afford us the information), which is capable of bearing “for a few months” a drain of an annual excess of Rs. 19,681-11-6 of expenditure over regular income. The Board very properly point out the fallacy of supposing that this sum, of one and a quarter lakh of rupees, is giving education to the people of the Bombay Presidency generally. The contrary fact is strikingly evinced by the statement that, “by early dispositions of Government, no less a sum than Rs. 44,740, out of the Rs.

1,25,000, has been allotted to the island of Bombay alone, *i. e.*, to 'the wealthiest portion of the Presidency,' while the remainder is of course mainly given to the districts, where the desire for education is strongest, and consequently most is given where least is needed, and none at all where most is needed. This is a serious evil, which attaches to the Government scheme of education in all the Presidencies. The few, who are both able and not unwilling to pay for their education, are educated at the expense of Government, and nothing is left for the establishment of schools amongst those who have the most need for schools to be maintained among them.

We think that our Educational Councils and Boards might take a valuable hint on this point from their brethren in the Abkari department. A few years ago there was just as little desire amongst the people of India for strong drink as there is now for education. But by a *judicious* system of establishing grog-shops, and making it the interest of the Abkari officials to promote their success, the Government have succeeded, not only in creating a desire for liquor in the most unpromising districts, but in deriving from the desire so created no inconsiderable amount of revenue. This is a simple fact. Now no one can doubt that the mere establishment of a few Gin-palaces in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, however richly they might have been endowed, would have gone scarcely a single step towards the diffusion of the taste in question throughout the land. We offer this hint, with considerable confidence that wise men may turn it to good account.

The Board, however, solicit the Governor in Council, to place an additional lakh of rupees per annum at their disposal, which they propose to expend rather in the encouraging of existing native schools, and placing them under their own superintendence, than in the founding of new schools. We know not how it may be in the Bombay Presidency; but we are persuaded that this method would fail in Bengal. The native schools are hopelessly and irrecoverably bad, and incapable of being turned to any good account in supplying the educational wants of the people. The money that might be granted to them would be completely thrown away; and any superintendence that might be assumed over them would be nugatory.

As to the existing colleges and schools, the Report glows throughout with the brightest *couleur de rose* dye. The Board are thoroughly pleased with Principals, Professors, Teachers and Scholars; the Principals with Professors, Teachers and Scholars; and the Professors and Teachers with their Scholars; and, if we are to judge from the questions proposed, and the answers given at the examinations, we should say that all have abundant reason to be pleased with all. Take for example the following list of mathematical questions proposed to the students of the *first year* :—

"*Mathematics*.—Prof. Patton—from 11 to 2.

"1. If from any point in the circumference of a circle four lines be drawn to the angles of an inscribed quadrilateral, the *anharmonic*



'ratio of the pencil thus formed is represented by the ratio of the rectangles under the opposite sides.

" 2. The points of intersection of the opposite sides of a re-entrant hexagon, inscribed in a circle, lie on the same right line.

" 3. If a right angle revolve round a fixed point within a circle, required the locus of the middle point of the chord it subtends.

" 4. Describe a circle touching two given circles, and passing through a given point.

" 5. Prove the formula for finding the angles of a spherical triangle when the sides are given.

" 6. When two sides and the contained angle are given, how are the other parts found ?

" 7. Thence find the distance between London and Calcutta, their respective latitudes being  $51^{\circ} 31' N.$  and  $22^{\circ} 34' N.$ , and their longitudes  $0^{\circ} 6' W.$  and  $88^{\circ} 26' E.$

" 8. Given the ratio of the sines, and the ratio of the tangents, of two angles, find them, geometrically or trigonometrically."

Such was the three hours' work prescribed to first year's students ; and within that time answers were actually given by some of the students to some of the questions. We have witnessed, with no little interest, the teaching of mathematics in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, but we can safely say, that nowhere have we found such proficiency amongst first year's students as that indicated by this fact. But this is not all. Referring to Prof. Patton's report, we find that these students have had, not a year's, but only six months' training in the college : and referring again to the Report of the upper school, we find that on their entrance to the college, the amount of their acquirements must have been the first six books of Euclid, and Algebra as far as quadratic equations. It must be interesting to all mathematicians, to trace the process by which such a wonder (for we can call it by no other name) has been achieved. Here then is Mr. Patton's account of the matter :—

" FIRST YEAR'S STUDENTS. This class, during the six months that elapsed since they entered the college, have revised their geometry, and have studied in addition, a large collection of deductions and examples, given to them in the class from my own note-books. On account of my absence for some time from ill health, and on leave, I was compelled to entrust the class to Assistant Professor Dadabhai Naoroji, during the time they were studying Plane and Spherical Trigonometry ; and I take this opportunity of testifying to the excellent manner in which he executed his duty, as shown by the result of the examination. The application of Trigonometry to Astronomy was taught by myself."

Elsewhere, we find that the period of Prof. Patton's absence was confined to the month of October ; and this was the time expended by the Assistant Professor in indoctrinating the class into the whole mystery of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry.

We have thus, by a somewhat tedious process, got a glimpse of

the truth in this matter. With respect to it, we shall only say, that it was not thus that we were taught those subjects, and not even the sight of the examination-papers before us—highly creditable though they be—can make us wish that our son should be so taught them.

We know not how it is in Madras; but we grieve to say that in our own Presidency, and in Bombay, there is, on the part of the managers of the Government educational institutions, a sad desire to impart a superficial acquaintance with many subjects, instead of that slow and gradual training of the faculties, which is the essence of good education. "Plane and Spherical Trigonometry in the month of October" is the brief formula by which we shall henceforth designate the treatment in virtue of which "Young Bengal" and "Young Bombay" are reared.

*Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society. From September 1850 to June 1852. Edited by the Secretary. Volume X. Bombay. 1852.*

It seems a somewhat remarkable coincidence, that we have precisely the same remark to make on this title that we made on that of the work which formed the subject of the immediately preceding notice. We presume that we have before us the *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, Vol. X., from September, 1850, to June, 1852.* Be this as it may, the volume before us is a very interesting one, both as giving a favourable view of the activity of our friends in the West, and on account of the intrinsic value of the articles that it contains. The proceedings of the meetings of the Society contain a vast mass of important facts, a perfect feast for a proper Baconian mind; while of the six articles all are good, and some of very great value and importance. We would especially notice, without any disparagement to the others, Art. II.—"Researches in the Vicinity of the Median wall of Xenophon, and along the old course of the River Tigris. By Felix Jones, Commander, Indian Navy." And Art. III.—"The Volcanoes of India. By Dr. Buist, F. R. S. L. and E." These articles, and indeed the whole volume, will well repay perusal. We cannot do better than give our readers a specimen of the style of Commander Jones in the following extract:—

The Majumrah, as the name implies, are a large tribe congregated from minor families of Arabs, who are individually so small as to be unable to protect themselves, and parts of larger hordes who have originally migrated from a distance on account of feud or oppression on the part of the Government. They lead both a pastoral and agricultural life, and are only so far nomade as to wander over the territory assigned them, which is the most northerly of the cultivated district crisscrossing the Tigris and Dijel. Parties of them are found in the Khâlis dis-

trict, East of the Tigris, whither they have gone in search of employment ; but by far the greater portion have their residence on the west of the stream, and extend from Suméyehch to opposite Samara. They bear the character of most arrant and expert thieves, not in the Bedoin sense of the term, who, like the Borderers of old, "lift" whole droves of cattle at a time, and reckon "border theft and high treason" true gentlemanly accomplishments ; but as petty larcenists that, like the shark in the wake of a ship, will follow caravans with a prying eye until they observe something worth purloining, which they seldom fail in the end to secure. On these expeditions they are generally well known, and precautions are therefore taken when a Majummah is seen marching in company along the road. Not unfrequently they receive desperate wounds in following their favorite pursuits, and this evening, we have one of the principal men craving a remedy for deafness, and a singing in the left ear, which he says, is the effect of a blow on the head inflicted on him while sitting innocently down in a camp at Samara, by a native of that place. On enquiry we find his brother had been shot "flagrante delicto" while removing the contents of a saddle-bag from a caravan at night, and this individual, from a sense of duty inculcated by the law of blood, notwithstanding his brother's crime, was at the time of the blow in search of the slayer, to take his life, in return for that of the guilty dead. The party, however, had received a hint of the design of our friend, and was before hand with him, by felling him with a heavy stick, that would have split any ordinary skull into pieces, as he sat on the ground, patiently awaiting the time for his purpose. The blow rendered him insensible for the moment, and paralytic for months after ; but although he has not been able to meet the principal in the affair since, he quietly informs us that he has had partial satisfaction by the deliberate murder of two of his relatives. So vindictive indeed is this spirit of revenge, that this man openly avows his intention to continue the slaughter as he finds opportunity, for, as he says, his "brother's blood is still crying unto him for vengeance" on the murderer, who, if lucky enough personally to escape the search which this worthy purposes to institute again in a few days, will have to lament the death of many of his tribe, before his offence—that of killing a highway robber, be expiated. Interested in the subject, we asked how many lives, in the event of his not meeting with his real enemy, would suffice to atone for the blood of his brother. He coolly responded—"Five, and as I have shot two, there remain but three more, whose days, Inshallah ! are numbered." Such a confession of premeditated and wholesale murder did not surprise us, knowing that the Arab, at a distance from the capital, consults only his own passions, in the commission of any outrage of this nature, and even there, the price of blood is not confined to the strict law of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, or a life for a life," owing to the apathy of the Government, and the influence of party. The Jew and the Christian indeed may be slain by the Mahomedan with comparative impunity, certainly at no risk that his own life shall be forfeit for the slaughter of one of his species, whose difference of creed alone, causes him to be ranked in the eyes of Islam, as but little better than carrion. With the tribes, however, the evil is not without its good, for "blood for blood" prevents the commission of murder in many cases, from a dread of the consequences involved in the act. After examining our friend's head, we commended his resolution of proceeding again to Samara, adding that we had no better prescription for the cure of his malady, than a similar blow on the other side of the cranium, which he was likely enough to meet with there, and which, doubtless, would effectually prevent a return of the "singing" he complained of, by rendering him for ever unconscious of either feeling or sound. It was sometime before the drift of this was perceived, when a faint smile overspread his sullen features, and the miscreant took his leave, by no means pleased with the result of his visit. After his departure his own party condemned the blood-thirsty spirit he evinced, which is not indeed usual to the extent of this fellow's disposition, and a fear of being involved in his acts had already led most of them to pitch their habitations at a distance from his tent, which, I am told, seldom contains any other than his innocent wives and children ; for he himself is constantly abroad—not so much on account of the row he has made, as from dread of a similar fate awaiting himself, at the hands of the other party, only to be avoided, as









